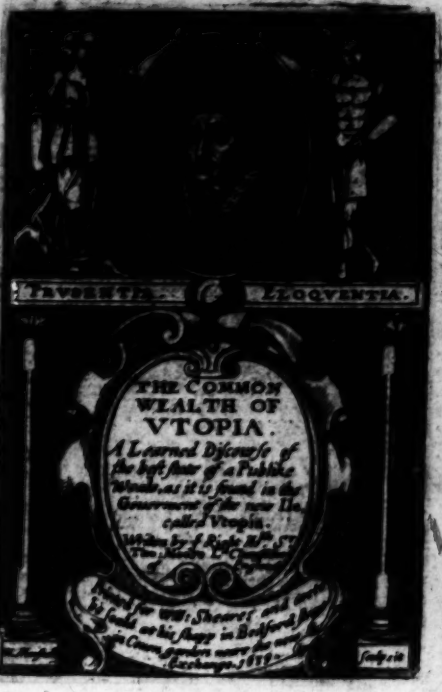
THE COMMON
WEALTH OF
VTOPIA.
A Learned Discourse of
the best state of a Publike
Weale, as it is found in the
Government of the new Ile
called Vtopia.
Sculp: it

THE COMMON-VVEALTH OF *VTOPIA:*

Containing a Learned and pleaſant Diſcourſe of the beſt *ſtate of a Publike Weale*, *as it* is found in the Government of the new Ile called *Vtopia.*

WRITTEN *By the right Honourable,*

Sir THOMAS MOORE,

Lord *Chancellour* of *England.*

LONDON,
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1639.

TO THE HONble. descended Gentleman,

CRESACRE MOORE, of *More-place* in *North-Mimes*, in the County of *Hertford*, Esquire; Next in Bloud to Sir THOMAS MOORE, L. *Chancellor* of *England*, *and Heire to the ancient* Family of the CRESACRES, sometime Lord of the Manner of *Bamborough*, in the County of *Yorke*, in the time of *Edward* the first.

SIR,

I Have found you so Noble in the first Dedication, that I should much derogate from your true Worth, and wrong my selfe to make choise of a new Pa-

A tron

tron for the second (exactly done with applause) wherein though I presume, yet persume, t'will bee no sinne to multiply my obligation. Your name, and nature, claimes, and deserves it, 'tis your due and my duty, and were I able to expresse more MOORE *should have it, for I must alwayes acknowledge your goodnesse in whatsoever quality fortune shall bestow me. SIR, I know you are wise. In a word I am, really what I am.*

Your worships ever to be commanded.

Ber: Alsop.

THE FIRST BOOKE

of the Communication of RAPHAEL HYTHLODAY, concerning the best State of a COMMON-WEALTH.

THE most victorious King of *England*, HENRY the eight of that name, in all royall vertues, a Prince most peerelesse, had of late in Controversie with CHARLES, the right high and mighty King of *Castile*, weightie matters, and of great importance. For the debatement and finall determination whereof, the

 Kings

Kings Maieſtie ſent me Ambaſſadour into *Flanders*, ioyned in Commiſſion with CVTHBERT TVNSTALL, a man doubtleſſe out of compariſon, and whom the Kings Maieſtie of late, to the great reioycing of all men, did preferre to the Office of Maſter of the Rolles.

Cuthbert Tunſtall.

But of this mans praiſes I will ſay nothing, not becauſe I doe feare that ſmall credence ſhall be given to the teſtimony that commeth out of a friends mouth: but becauſe his vertue and learning be greater, and of more excellencie, then that I am able to praiſe them: and alſo in all places ſo famous and ſo perfectly well knowne, that they need not, nor ought not of me to be praiſed, unleſſe I would ſeem to ſhew and ſet forth the brightneſſe of the Sunne with a Candle, as the Proverb ſaith. There met us at *Bruges* (for thus it was before agreed) they whom their Prince had

for

for that matter appointed Commissioners: excellent men all. The chiefe and head of them was the Margrave (as they call him) of *Bruges*, a right honourable man: but the wiseſt and the beſt ſpoken of them was GEORGE TEMSIUS, Provoſt of *Caſſelſes*, a man, not only by learning, but alſo by nature of ſinguler eloquence, and in the lawes profoundly learned: but in reaſoning and debating of matters, what by his naturall wit, and what by daily exerciſe, ſurely he had few fellowes. After that we had once or twiſe met, and vpon certaine points or articles could not fully and throughly agree, they for a certaine ſpace tooke their leaue of vs, and departed to *Bruxells*, there to know their Princes pleaſure. I in the meane time (for ſo my buſineſſe lay) went ſtraight thence to *Antwerpe*. While I was there abiding, oftentimes among other, but which

Peter Giles.

to me was more welcome then any other, did visit me one PETER GILLES, a Citizen of *Antwerpe*, a man there in his Countrey of honest reputation, and also preferred to high promotions, worthy truly of the highest. For it is hard to say, whether the young man be in learning, or in honesty more excellent. For he is both of wonderfull vertuous conditions, and also singularly well learned, and towards all sorts of people exceeding gentle: But towards his friends so kind-hearted, so loving, so faithfull, so trusty, and of so earnest affection, that it were very hard in any place to find a man, that with him in all points of friendship may be compared. No man can be more lowly or courteous; no man useth lesse simulation, or dissimulation, in no man is more prudent simplicity. Besides this, he is in his talke and communication so merry and pleasant, yea, and that with-

without harme, that through his gentle entertainment, and his ſweete and delectable communication, in me was greatly abated and diminiſhed the fervent deſire that I had to ſee my native Country, my wife and my children, whom then I did much long and covet to ſee: becauſe that at that time I had beene more then foure moneths from them. Vpon a certaine day when I had heard the Divine Service in our Ladies Church, which is the faireſt, the moſt gorgious and curious Church of building in all the City, and alſo moſt frequented of people, and the Service being done, was ready to goe home to my lodging, I chanced to eſpy this foreſaid PETER talking with a Captaine, ſtranger, a man well ſtricken in age, with a blacke Sunne-burned face, a long beard, and a cloake caſt homely about his ſhoulders, whom by his favour and apparell forthwith I

I judged to be a Marriner. But the ſaid PETER ſeeing me, came unto me and ſaluted me. And as I was about to anſwer him: ſee you this man, ſaith he (and therewith he pointed to the man, that I ſaw him talking with before) I was minded (quoth he) to bring him ſtraight home to you. He ſhould haue beene very welcome to me, ſaid I, for your ſake. Nay (quoth he) for his owne ſake, if you knew him: for there is no man this day living, that can tell you of ſo many ſtrange and vnknowne peoples, and Countries, as this man can. And I know well that you be very deſirous to heare of ſuch newes. Then I conjectured not farre amiſſe (quoth I) for euen at the firſt ſight, I judged him to be a Marriner. Nay (quoth he) there ye were greatly deceiued: he hath ſayled indeed, not as the Mariner *Palinure*, but as the expert & prudent Prince VLYSSES: Yea, rather

as

as the ancient and Sage Philoſopher PLATO. For this ſame *Raphael Hythloday* (for this is his name) he is very well learned in the Latine tongue: but profound and excellent in the Greeke language. Wherein he ever beſtowed more ſtudy then in the Latine, becauſe he had given himſelfe wholly to the ſtudy of Philoſophy. Whereof he knew that there is nothing certaine in Latine, that is to any purpoſe, ſaving a few of *Senecaes*, and *Ciceroes* doings. His patrimonie that he was borne unto, he left to his brethren (for he is a *Portugall* borne) and for the deſire he had to ſee, and know the farre Countries of the world, he joyned himſelfe in company with *Americke Veſpuce*, and in the three laſt voyages of thoſe foure that be now in print, and abroad in every mans hands, he continued ſtill in his company, ſaving that in the laſt voyage he came not home

Raphael Hythloday.

againe with him. For he made such meanes and shift, what by intreatance, and what by importune suite, that he got licence of Master *Americke* (though it were sore against his will) to be one of the twenty foure, which in the end of the last voyage were left in the Country of *Gulicke*. He was therefore left behind for his mind-sake, as one that tooke more thought and care for travelling, then dying; having customably in his mouth these sayings: *He that hath no grave, is covered with the skie; and, The way to heaven out of all places, is of like length and distance.* Which fantasie of his, (if God had not beene his better friend) he had surely bought full deere. But after the departure of master *Vespuce*, when he had travelled through and about many Countries with five of his companions Gubkians; at the last by mervailous chance he arrived in *Taprobane*, from

from whence he went to *Caliquit*, where he chanced to finde certaine of his Country Ships, wherein he returned againe into his Country, nothing leſſe then looked for. All this when PETER had told me, I thanked him for his gentle kindneſſe: that he had vouchſafed to bring me to the ſpeech of that man, whoſe communication, he thought ſhould be to me pleaſant, and acceptable. And therewith I turned me to *Raphael*: And when we had halſed each other, and had ſpoke theſe commune words, that he cuſtomably ſpoke at the firſt meeting, and acquaintance of ſtrangers, we went thence to my houſe, and there in my Garden, vpon a bench covered with greene turves, we ſate downe talking together. There he told us, how that after the departing of *Veſpuce*, he and his fellowes that tarried behind in *Gulicke*, began by little and little, through faire

and gentle ſpeech, to winne the loue and fauour of the people of that Country; inſomuch, that within ſhort ſpace, they did dwell among them, not onely harmeleſſe, but alſo occupying with them familiarly. He told vs alſo, that they were in high reputation and fauour with a certaine great man (whoſe name and Countrey is now quite out of my remembrance) which of his meere liberality, did beare the coſts and charges of him and his fiue companions. And beſides that, gaue them a truſty guide to conduct them in their iourney (which by water was in Boats, and by land in Wagons) and to bring them to other Princes with very friendly commendations.

Thus after many dayes iournies, he ſaid, they found Townes, and Cities, and Weale publiques, full of people, governed by good and wholſome Lawes: for vnder the line Equinoctiall, and on both

both ſides of the ſame, as farre as the Sunne doth extend his courſe, lyeth (quoth he) great and wide Deſarts, and Wildernesſes, parched, burned, and dried vp with continuall and intollerable heate. All things be hideous, terrible, loathſome, and unpleaſant to behold: All things out of faſhion and comelineſſe, inhabited with wilde Beaſts, and Serpents; or at the leaſt-wiſe, with people, that be no leſſe ſavage, wild, and noyſome, then the very Beaſts themſelues be. But a little farther beyond that, all things begin by little and little to waxe pleaſant. The Ayre ſoft, temperate, and gentle; the ground covered with greene graſſe: leſſe wildneſſe in the Beaſts. At the laſt ſhall yee come to people, Cities and Townes, wherein is continuall entercourſe and occupying of merchandize and chaffare, not onely among themſelues, and with their Borderers; but alſo

with Merchants of farre Countryes, both by land and water. There I had occasion (said he) to goe to many Countries on euery side. For there was no ship ready to any voyage or journey, but I and my fellowes were into it very gladly received. The ships that they found first, were made plain, flat, and broad in the bottome trough-wise. The sayles were made of great rushes, or of wickers, and in some places of leather. Afterward they found Ships with ridged kyles, and sayles of Canvalle: yea, and shortly after, having all things like ours. The ship-men also were expert and cunning, both in the Sea, and in the weather. But he said, that he found great favour and friendship among them, for teaching them the feate and use of the Loadstone. Which to them before that time was vnknowne. And therefore they were wont to be very timerous and fearefull vpon the Sea:

Ships of strange fashions.

The Loadstone.

Sea: Nor to venture vpon it, but onely in the Summer time. But now they haue ſuch a confidence in that Stone, that they feare not ſtormy Winter: in ſo doing, farther from care then danger. In ſo much, that it is greatly to be doubted, leaſt that thing, through their owne fooliſh hardineſſe, ſhall turne them to evill and harme, which at the firſt was ſuppoſed ſhould be to them good and commodious. But, what he told vs that he ſaw in every Country where he came, it were very long to declare. Neither is it my purpoſe at this time to make rehearſall thereof. But peradventure in another place will I ſpeak of it: chiefly ſuch things as ſhall be profitable to be knowne: as in ſpeciall be thoſe decrees and ordinances, that he marked to be well and wittily provided and enacted among ſuch peoples, as doe liue together in a civill policie, and good order. For of ſuch things did

did we busily enquire, and demand of him, and he likewise very willingly told vs of the same. But as for Monsters, because they be no newes, of them we were nothing inquisitive: For nothing is more easie to be found, then be barking *Scillaes*, ravening *Celenes*, and *Lestrigones*, devourers of people, and such like great and incredible monsters. But to find Citizens ruled by good and wholsome Lawes, that is an exceeding rare, & hard thing. But as he marked many fond and foolish Lawes in those new-found Lands, so he rehearsed divers acts and constitutions, whereby these our Cities, Nations, Countries, and Kingdomes, may take example to amend their faults, enormities, and errours. Whereof in another place (as I said) I will intreat. Now at this time I am determined to rehearse only that he told vs of the Manners, Customes, Lawes, and Ordinances of the *Utopians*.

But

But first I will respect our former communication by the occasion, and (as I might say) the drift whereof he was brought into the mention of the Weale Publique: For when *Raphael* had very prudently touched divers things that be amisse, some here, and some there; Yea, very many on both parts; and againe had spoken of such wise Lawes, and prudent Decrees, as be established and used, both here among vs, and also among them; as a man so perfect, and expert in the Lawes, and Customes of every severall Country, as though into what place soever he came ghestwise, there he had led all his life: then PETER much marvailing at the man; Surely Master *Raphael* (quoth he) I wonder greatly, why you get you not into some Kings Court: For I am sure, there is no Prince living, that would not be very glad of you, as a man not only able highly

ly

ly to delight him with your profound learning, and this your knowledge of Countries, and peoples, but also meet to instruct him with examples, and helpe him with counsell. And thus doing, you shall bring your selfe in a very good case, and also be of ability to helpe all your friends and kinsfolke. As concerning my friends and kinsfolke (quoth he) I passe not greatly for them: For I thinke I haue sufficiently done my part towards them already. For these things, that other men doe not depart from, vntill they be old and sicke; yea, which they be then very loath to leaue, when they can no longer keepe, those very same things did I being not onely lusty, and in good health, but also in the flowre of my youth, deuide among my friends and kinsfolkes. Which I thinke with this my liberality ought to hold them contented, and not to require nor to looke that besides this,

this, I ſhould for their ſakes giue my ſelfe in bondage vnto Kings. Nay, God forbid that (quoth *Peter*) it is not my mind that you ſhould be in bondage to Kings, but as a retainer to them at your pleaſure. Which ſurely I thinke is the nigheſt way that you can deuiſe how to beſtow your time fruitfully, not onely for the priuate commodity of your friends, and for the generall profite of all ſorts of people, but alſo for the aduancement of your ſelfe to a much wealthier ſtate and condition, then you be now in. To a wealthier condition (quoth *Raphael*) by that meanes, that my mind ſtandeth cleane againſt? Now I liue at liberty after mine owne mind and pleaſure, which I thinke very few of theſe great States, and Peeres of Realmes can ſay. Yea, and there be enough of them that ſue for great mens friendſhips: and therefore thinke it no great hurt, if they haue not me,

me, not third or fourth such other as I am. Well, I perceiue plainly friend *Raphael* (quoth I) that you be desirous neither of riches nor of power. And truly I haue in no lesse reuerence and estimation a man of your mind, then any of them all that be so high in power and authority: But you shall doe as it becommeth you, yea, and according to this wisedome, to this high and fine courage of yours, if you can find in your heart, so to appoint and dispose your selfe, that you may apply your wit and diligence to the profite of the Weale publique, though it be somewhat to your owne paine and hinderance. And this shall you never so well doe, nor with so great profit performe, as if you be of some great Princes counsell, and put into his head (as I doubt not but you will) honest opinions, and vertuous perswasions: For from the Prince, as from a perpetuall

ruall well-ſpring, commeth a-
mong the people the floud of all
that is good or evill. But in you
is ſo perfect learning, that with-
out any experience, and againe,
ſo great experience that without
any learning you may well be
any Kings Counſellour. You be
twiſe deceived Maſter *More*
(quoth he) firſt in mee, and a-
gaine in the thing it ſelfe: For
neither is in me the ability that
you force vpon me, and if it were
never ſo much, yet in diſquieting
mine owne quietneſſe I ſhould
nothing further the Weale pub-
like. For firſt of all, the moſt part
of all Princes haue more delight
in warlike matters, and feates of
Chivalry (the knowledge where-
of I neither haue nor deſire) then
in the good feates of peace: and
imploy much more ſtudy, how
by right or by wrong to enlarge
their Dominions, then how well
and peaceable to rule, and go-
verne that they haue already.
More-

Moreouer, they that be Counſellours to Kings, euery one of them either is of himſelfe ſo wiſe indeed that he needeth not, or elſe he thinketh himſelfe ſo wiſe, that he will not alow another mans counſell, ſaving that they doe ſhamefully, and flatteringly, giue aſſent to the fond and fooliſh ſayings of certaine great men: whoſe fauours, becauſe they be in high authority with their Prince, by aſſentation and flattery they labour to obtaine. And verily it is naturally given to all men to eſteeme their owne inventions beſt: So both the Raven and the Ape thinke their owne young ones faireſt. Then if a man in ſuch a company, where ſome diſdaine and haue deſpight at other mens invetions, and ſome count their owne beſt; if among ſuch men (I ſay) a man ſhould bring forth any thing, that he hath reade done in times paſt, or that he hath ſeene done in

in other places; there the hearers, fare as though the whole exiſtimation of their wiſedome were in jeopardy to be overthrowne, and that ever after they ſhould be counted for very deſarts, unleſſe they could in other mens inventions picke out matter to reprehend, and find a fault at. If all other poore helpes faile: then this is their extreame refuge. Theſe things (ſay they) pleaſed our forefathers and anceſtors: would God we could be ſo wiſe as they were: and as though they had wittily concluded the matter, and with this anſwere ſtopped every mans mouth, they ſit downe againe. As who ſhould ſay, it were a very dangerous matter, if a man in any point ſhould bee found wiſer then his fore-fathers were. And yet be we content to ſuffer the beſt and wittieſt of their Decrees to lye unexecuted: but if in any thing a better order might haue beene taken

taken, then by them was, there we take fast hold, finding there many faults. Many times haue I chanced vpon such proud, lewd, over-thwart, and way-ward judgements; yea (and once in *England:* I pray you Sir (quoth I) haue you beene in our Country? Yea forsooth (quoth he) and there I tarried for the space of foure or fiue moneths together, not long after the Insurrection, the Westerne English men made against their King, which by their owne miserable and pitifull slaughter, was suppressed and ended. In the meane season, I was much bound and beholding to the right reuerend Father, IOHN MORTON, Arch-bishop and Cardinall of *Canterburie*, and at that time also Lord Chancellour of *England*; a man, Master *Peter* (for Master *Moore* knoweth already that I will say) not more honourable for his authority, then for his prudence and vertue.

Partiall judgement.

Cardinall MORTON

He

He was of a meane ſtature, and though ſtricken in age, yet bare he his body upright.

In his face did ſhine ſuch an amiable reverence, as was pleaſant to behold. Gentle in communication, yet earneſt, and ſage. He had great delight many times with rough ſpeech to his ſuiters, to proue, but without harme, what prompt wit, and what bold ſpirit were in every man. In the which as in a vertue much agreeing with his naeure, ſo that therewith were not ſoyned impudency, he tooke great delectation. And the ſame perſon as apt and meet to haue an adminiſtration in the Weale publike, he did lovingly imbrace. In his ſpeech he was fine, eloquent and pithie. In the Law, he had profound knowledge; in wit, he was incomparable; and in memory, wonderfull excellent. Theſe qualities, which in him were by nature ſinguler, he by learning and uſe

use had made perfect. The King put much trust in his counsell, the Weale publike also in a manner leaned unto him, when I was there: For even in the chiefe of his youth hee was taken from Schoole into the Court, and there passed all his time in much trouble and businesse, being continually tumbled and tossed in the waves of divers misfortunes and adversities. And so by many and great dangers, he learned the experience of the world, which so being learned, cannot easily be forgotten. It chanced on a certaine day, when I sate at his Table, there was also a certaine lay man, cunning in the Lawes of your Realme: Who, I cannot tell, whereof taking occasion, began diligently and earnestly to praise that strait and rigorous justice, which at that time was there executed upon Felonies; who as he said, were for the most part twenty hanged together upon

on one gallowes. And, ſeeing ſo few eſcaped puniſhment, he ſaid he could not chooſe, but greatly wonder and marvaile, how and by what evill luck it ſhould ſo come to paſſe, that Theeves nevertheleſſe were in every place ſo rife and ſo ranck. Nay, ſir quoth I (for I durſt boldly ſpeake my mind, before the Cardinall) mervaile nothing hereat: for this puniſhment of Theeves paſſeth the limits of Iuſtice, and is alſo very hurtfull to the Weale publike: For it is too extreame and cruell a puniſhment for theft, and yet not ſufficient to refraine and with-hold men from theft: for ſimple theft is not ſo great an offence, that it ought to be puniſhed with death, neither there is any puniſhment ſo horrible, that it can keepe them from ſtealing, which have none other craft, whereby to get their living. Therefore in this point, not you only, but alſo the moſt part of the

Of Lawes not made according to equity.

By what meanes there might be fewer theeues and robbers.

world be like evill Schoolemaſters, which bee readier to beat, then to teach their ſchollers. For great and horrible puniſhments be appointed for Theeves, whereas much rather, proviſion ſhould have bin made, that there were ſome meanes, wherby they might get their living, ſo that no man ſhould be driven to this extreame neceſſitie; firſt to ſteale, and then to dye. Yes (quoth he) this matter is well enough provided for already. There be Handy-crafts, there is Husbandry to get their living, if they would not willingly be naught. Nay, quoth I, you ſhall not ſcape ſo: for firſt of all, I will ſpeake nothing of them, that come home out of the warres maimed and lame, as not long agoe out of *Black-heath* field, and a little before that, out of the warres in *France*: ſuch I ſay, as put their lives in jeopardy for the Weale publiques, or the Kings ſake, and by reaſon of weaknetie

and

and lamenesse bee not able to occupie their old crafts, and be too aged to learne new: of them I will speake nothing, forasmuch as Warres have their ordinary recourse.

But let us consider those things that chance daily before our eyes. First, there is a great number of Gentlemen, which cannot bee content to live idle themselves, like Dorrers, of that which other have laboured for: their Tenants I meane, whom they poll and shave to the quicke, by raising their Rents (for this onely point of frugalitie doe they use, men else through their lavish and prodigall spending, able to bring themselves to very beggery) these Gentlemen, I say, doe not onely live in idlenesse themselves, but also carry about with them at their tailes, a great flock or traine of idle and loytering Servingmen, which never learned any craft, wherby to get their livings.

Idlenesse, the mother of theeues.

Landlords by the way checked for Rent raising.

Of idle Servingmen come theeues.

These men as soone as their Master is dead, or be sick themselves, be incontinent thrust out of doores: For Gentlemen had rather keepe idle persons, then sick men, and many times the dead mans Heire is not able to maintaine so great a House, and keepe so many Serving-men as his Father did. Then in the meane season, they that be thus destitute of service, eyther starve for hunger, or manfully play the Theeves: For what would you have them to doe? When they have wandred abroad so long, untill they have worne threed-bare their apparell, and also appaired their health; then Gentlemen, because of their pale and sickly faces, and patched coates, will not take them into service. And Husbandmen dare not set them a work: knowing well enough, that hee is nothing meet to doe true and faithfull service to a Poore man with a Spade and Mattocke for small wages

wages and hard fare, which being daintily and tenderly pampered up in idleneſſe and pleaſure, was wont with a Sword and a Buckler by his ſide, to jet through the ſtreet with a bragging looke, and to thinke himſelfe too good to bee any mans mate. Nay by Saint *Mary* ſir (quoth the Lawyer) not ſo: For this kinde of men muſt we make moſt of; for in them as men of ſtouter ſtomacks, bolder ſpirits, and manlier courages, then Handicrafts-men and Plough-men be, doth conſiſt the whole power, ſtrength, and puiſſance of our army, when wee muſt fight in battaile. Forſooth ſir, as well you might ſay (quoth I) that for Warres ſake you muſt cheriſh Theeves: For ſurely you ſhall never lacke theeves, whiles you have them. No nor Theeves be not the moſt falſe and faint-hearted Souldiers, nor ſouldiers bee not the cowardlieſt theeves: ſo

Betweene ſouldiers and theeues ſmall diverſity.

well theſe two Crafts agree together. But this fault, though it be much vſed among you, yet is it not peculiar to you onely, but cõmon alſo almoſt to all Nations. Yet *France* beſides this is troubled and infected with a much ſorer plague. The whole Realme is filled and beſieged with hired Soldiers in peace time (if that be peace) which be brought in under the ſame colour and pretence, that hath perſwaded you to keepe theſe idle Serving-men. For theſe wiſe-fooles, and very arch-dolts, thought the wealth of the whole Countrey herein to conſiſt, if there were ever in a readineſſe a ſtrong and a ſure Garriſon, ſpecially of old practiſed Soldiers; for they put no truſt at all in men unexerciſed. And therefore they muſt be forced to ſeeke for warre, to the end they may ever have practiſed Soldiers, and cunning man-ſlayers, leaſt that (as it is pretily ſaid of *Saluſt*) their hands and their minds through idle-

neſſe or lacke of exercise, ſhould waxe dull.

What inconveniences commeth by continuall Garriſons of ſouldiours.

But how pernitious and peſtilent a thing it is, to maintaine ſuch Beaſts, the Frenchmen, by their owne harmes haue learned, and the examples of the Romanes, Carthaginians, Syrians, and of many other Countries doe manifeſtly declare: For not onely the Empire, but alſo the fields and Cities of all theſe, by divers occaſions haue beene overrunned and deſtroyed of their owne armies, beforehand had in a readineſſe. Now how unneceſſary a thing this is, hereby it may appeare: that the French ſouldiours, which from their youth haue beene practiſed and inured in feates of armes, doe not cracke or advance themſelues to haue very often got the vpper hand and maſtry of your new-made and unpractiſed ſouldiours. But in this point I will not vſe many words, leaſt perchance I may

ſeeme to flatter you. No, nor thoſe ſame handy-craft men of yours in Cities, nor yet the rude and vplandiſh plough-men of the Country, are not ſuppoſed to be greatly afraid of your Gentlemens idle ſeruingmen, vnleſſe it be ſuch as be not of body or ſtature correſpondent to their ſtrength and courage; or elſe whoſe bold ſtomackes be diſcouraged through poverty. Thus you may ſee, that it is not to be feared leaſt they ſhould be effeminated, if they were brought vp in good crafts and labourſome workes, whereby to get their livings, whoſe ſtout and ſturdy bodies (for Gentlemen vouchſafe to corrupt and ſpill none but picked and choſen men) now either by reaſon of reſt and idleneſſe be brought to weakeneſſe: or elſe by too eaſie and womanly exerciſes be made feeble, and vnable to endure hardneſſe. Truly, howſoever the caſe ſtan-

ſtandeth, this me thinketh is nothing availeable to the Weale publike, for warre ſake, which you never haue, but when you will your ſelues, to keepe and maintaine an vnnumerable flock of that ſort of men, that be ſo troubleſome & noyous in peace, whereof you ought to haue a thouſand times more regard, then of warre. But yet this is not onely the neceſſary cauſe of ſteaſing. There is another, which as I ſuppoſe, is proper and peculiar to you Engliſhmen alone. What is that, quoth the Cardinall? forſooth my Lord (quoth I) your ſheepe, that were wont to be ſo meeke and tame, and ſo ſmall eaters; now, as I heare ſay, be become ſo great devourers, and ſo wild, that they eat vp, and ſwallow downe the very men themſelues. They conſume, deſtroy, and devoure whole fields, houſes, and Cities: For looke in what parts of the Realme doth

Engliſh sheepe devourers of men.

grow the fineſt, and therefore deareſt Wooll, there noble men, and gentlemen, yea, and certaine Abbots, holy men no doubt, not contenting themſelues with the yearely reuenues, and profits, that were wont to grow to their fore-fathers and predeceſſours of their lands, nor being content that they liue in reſt and pleaſure, nothing profiting; yea, much noying the Weale publike, leaue no ground for tillage: they incloſe all into paſtures; they throw downe houſes; they plucke downe townes, and leaue nothing ſtanding, but onely the Church to be made a ſheephouſe. And as though you loſt no ſmall quantity of ground by forreſts, chaſes, lands, and parkes, thoſe good holy men turne all dwelling places and all glebe land into deſolation, and wildernesſe.

Therefore, that one couetous and unſatiable Cormorant, and

very plague of his native Country, may compaſſe about and incloſe many thouſands Akers of ground together within one pale or hedge, the husbandmen be thruſt out of their owne, or elſe either by covine and fraud, or violent oppreſſion they be put beſides it, or by wrongs and injuries they be ſo wearied, that they be compelled to ſell all: by one meanes therefore or by other either by hooke or by crooke they muſt needs depart away, poore, ſillie, wretched ſoules, men, women, husbands, wiues, fatherleſſe children, widdowes, wofull mothers with their young babes, and the whole houſhold ſmall in ſubſtance, and much in number, as husbandry requireth many hands.

Sheep-maſters deceyers of husbandry.

Away they trudge, I ſay, out of their knowne and accuſtomed houſes, finding no place to reſt in. All their houſhold-ſtuffe, which is very little worth, though

though it might well abide the sale: yet being suddainly thrust out, they be constrained to sell it for a thing of naught. And when they haue wandered abroad till that be spent, what can they then doe but steale, and then iustly pardy be hanged, or else goe about a begging. And yet then also they be cast into Prison as Vagabonds, because they goe about and worke not: whom no man will set a worke, though they never so willingly proffer themselues thereto. For one Shepheard or Heardman is enough to eat vp that ground with cattell, to the occupying whereof, about husbandry, many hands were requisite. And this is also the cause why victuals be now in many places dearer. Yea besides this the price of woolle is so risen, that poore folkes, which were wont to worke it, and make cloath thereof, be now able to buy none at all. And by this meanes very many be forced to

The decay of husbandry causeth beggery, which is the mother of vagabondes & theeues.

The cause of dearth of victuals

Want inconuenience commeth of dearth of Woolle.

forſake worke, and to giue themſelues to idleneſſe.

For after that ſo much ground was incloſed for paſture, an infinite multitude of ſheepe died of the rot, ſuch vengeance God tooke of their inordinate and unſatiable covetouſneſſe, ſending among the ſheepe that peſtiferous murrein, which much more juſtly ſhould haue fallen on the ſheep-maſters owne heads. And though the number of ſheepe increaſe never ſo faſt, yet the price falleth not one mite, becauſe there be ſo few ſellers: For they be almoſt all come into a few rich mens hands, whom no need forceth to ſell before they luſt, and they luſt not before they may ſell as deare they luſt. Now the ſame cauſe bringeth in like dearth of the dearth of the other kinds of Cattell, yea, and that ſo much the more, becauſe that after Farmes plucked downe, and husbandry decayed, there is no man that paſſeth for the breeding of

The cauſe of dearth of Wooll.

Dearth of cattell, with the cauſe thereof.

of young ſtore: for theſe rich men bring not vp the young ones of great cattell as they doe lambes.

But firſt they buy them abroad very cheape, and afterward when they be farted in their paſtures, they ſell them againe exceeding deare. And therefore (as I ſuppoſe) the whole incommodity hereof is not yet felt: for yet they make dearth onely in thoſe places, where they ſell. But when they ſhall fetch them away from thence where they be bred farther then they can be bought vp: then ſhall there alſo be felt great dearth, ſtore beginning there to faile; where the ware is bought. Thus the unreaſonable coveteouſneſſe of a few hath turned that thing to the vtter undoing of your Iland, in the which thing the chiefe felicity of your Realme did conſiſt: For this great dearth of victuals cauſeth men to keepe as little houſes, and as ſmall hoſpitality

Dearth of victuals is the decay of houſekeeping; whereof cauſeth beggery and theft.

pitality as they poſſible may, and to put away their ſervants: whither, I pray you, but a begging; or elſe (which theſe gentle blouds, and ſtout ſtomacks) will ſooner ſet their minds unto ſtealing? Now to amend the matter, to this wretched beggery, and miſerable poverty, is joyned great wantonneſſe, importunate ſuperfluity, and exceſſiue riot: For not onely gentlemens ſervants, but alſo handy craft men; yea, and almoſt the Ploughmen of the Country, with all other ſorts of people, vſe much ſtrange and proud new-fangles in their apparell, and too much prodigall riot, and ſumptuous fare at their table.

Exceſſe in apparell and diet, a maintainer of beggery and theft.

Now Baudes, queanes, whores, harlots, ſtrumpets, brothel-houſes, ſtewes; and yet another ſtewes, wine-tauerns, ale-houſes, and ripling houſes, with ſo many naughty, lewd, and unlawfull games; as dice, Cardes, tables, tennis,

Bauder, Whores, wine-taverns, ale-houſes, and unlawfull games. be very mothers of theeues.

tennis, boules, coytes; doe not all these send the haunters of them straight a stealing, when their money is gone? Cast out these pernicious abhominations; make a law, that they which, plucked downe farmes, and townes of husbandry, shall reedifie them, or else yeeld, and vprender the possession thereof to such, as will goe to the cost of building them anew.

Richmen ingrossers and forestallers.

Suffer not these rich men to buy vp all, to ingrosse, and forestall, and with their monopoly to keepe the market alone as please them. Let not so many be brought vp in idlenesse; let husbandry and tillage be restored; let Cloth-working be renued, that there may be honest labours for this idle sort to passe their time in profitably, which hitherto either poverty hath caused to be theeues, or else now be either vagabonds, or idle Servingmen, and shortly will be theeues,

theeues. Doubtleſſe, unleſſe you find a remedy for theſe enormities, you ſhall in vaine advance your ſelues of executing juſtice vpon fellons: For this juſtice is more beautifull in appearance, and more flouriſhing to the ſhew, then either juſt or profitable: For by ſuffering your youth wantonly, and viciouſly to be brought vp, and to be infected, even from their tender age, by little and little with vice: then a Gods name to be puniſhed, when they commit the ſame faults after being come to mans ſtate, which from their youth they were ever like to doe. In this point, I pray you, what other thing doe you, then make theeues, and then puniſh them? Now as I was thus ſpeaking, the Lawyer began to make himſelfe ready to anſwer, and was determined with himſelfe, to vſe the common faſhion, and trade of diſputers, which be more diligent

The corrupt education of youth, a mother of theevery.

gent in rehearſing, then anſwe-
ring, as thinking the memory
worthy of the chiefe praiſe. In-
deed Sir (quoth he) you haue
ſaid well, being but a ſtranger,
and one that might rather heare
ſomething of theſe matters, then
haue any exact or perfect know-
ledge of the ſame, as I will incon-
tinent by open proofe make ma-
nifeſt and plaine. For firſt I will
rehearſe in order all that you
haue ſaid: then I will declare
wherin you be deceiued, through
lacke of knowledge, in all our
faſhions, manners, and cuſtomes:
and laſt of all, I will anſwer your
arguments, and confute them e-
very one. Firſt therefore, I will
begin where I promiſed. Foure
things you ſeemed to me. Hold
your peace, quoth the Cardinall:
for it appeareth that you will
make no ſhort anſwer, which
make ſuch a beginning: Where-
fore at this time, you ſhall not
take the paines to make your an-
ſwer,

He is worthily put to ſilence that is too full of words.

ſwer, but keepe it to your next meeting, which I would be right glad, that it might be to morrow next, unleſſe either you, or Maſter *Raphael* haue earneſt let. But now Maſter *Raphael*, I would very gladly heare of you, why you thinke theft not worthy to be puniſhed with death, or what other puniſhment you can deviſe more expedient to the Weale publike? for I am ſure that you are not of that mind, that you would haue theft eſcape unpuniſhed. For if now the extreame puniſhment of death cannot cauſe them to leaue ſtealing, then if ruffians and robbers ſhould be ſure of their liues, what violence, what feare, were able to hold their hands from robbing, which would take the mitigation of the puniſhment, as a very prouocation to the miſchiefe? Surely my Lord, I thinke it not right nor juſtice, that the loſſe of money ſhould cauſe the loſſe of mans

That theft ought not to be puniſhed by death.

mans life: For mine opinion is, that all the goods in the world are not able to countervaile mans life.

But if they would thus say; that the breaking of Iustice, and the transgression of lawes is recompenced with this punishmẽt, and not the losse of the money, then why may not this extreame and rigorous justice well be called plaine injury? For so cruell governance, so straight rules, and unmercifull lawes be not allowable, that if a small offence be committed, by and by the sword should be drawne: Nor so stoicall ordinances are to be borne withall, as to count all offences of such equality, that the killing of a man, or the taking of his money from him were both a matter, and the one no more heinous offence then the other: betweene the which two if we haue any respect to equity, no similitude or equality consisteth.

Straight Lawes not allowable.

God

God commandeth vs that we ſhall not kill. And be we then ſo haſty to kill a man for taking a little money? And if a man would underſtand killing by this commandement of God, to be forbidden after no larger wiſe, then mans conſtitutions define killing to be lawfull; then why may it not likewiſe by mans conſtitutions be determined after what ſort whoredome, fornication, and perjury may be lawfull? For whereas by the permiſſion of God, no man neither hath power to kill neither himſelfe, nor yet any other man: then if a law made by the conſent of men, concerning ſlaughter of men, ought to be of ſuch ſtrength, force, and vertue, that they which contrary to the commandement of God haue killed thoſe, whom this conſtitution of man commanded to be killed, be cleane quit & exempt out of the bonds & danger of Gods cõmandement?

That mans law ought not to be prejudicall to Gods law.

ſhall

ſhall it not then by this reaſon follow, that the power of Gods commandement ſhall extend no further, then mans law doth define, and permit? And ſo ſhall it come to paſſe, that in like manner, mans conſtitutions in all things ſhall determine how farre the obſervation of all Gods commandements ſhall extend. To be ſhort, *Moſes* Law, though it were vngentle and ſharpe, as a law that was given to bondmen, yea, and them very obſtinate, ſtubborne, and ſtiffe-necked: yet it puniſhed theft by the purſe, and not with death. And let vs not thinke that God in the new law of clemency and mercy, vnder the which he ruleth vs with fatherly gentlenetſe, as his deare children hath given vs greater ſcope and licence to the execution of cruelty, one vpon another. Now you haue heard the reaſons, whereby I am perſwaded, that this puniſhment is vnlawfull

Theft in the old law not puniſhed by death.

lawfull. Furthermore, I thinke that there is no body that knoweth not, how unreasonable, yea, how pernitious a thing it is to the Weale publike, that a theefe and an homicide or murtherer should suffer equall and like punishment: For the theefe seeing that man, that is condemned for theft in no lesse jeopardy, nor judged to no lesse punishment, then him that is convict of manslaughter; through this cogitation onely he is strongly and forcibly provoked, and in a manner constrained to kill him, whom else he would haue but robbed: For the murder being once done, he is in lesse feare, and in more hope that the deed shall not be bewrayed or knowne, seeing the party is now dead, and rid out of the way, which onely might haue vttered and disclosed it.

What inconuenience ensueth of punishing theft with death.

Punishing of theft by death causeth theft to be a murtherer.

But if he chance to be taken and discried; yet he is in no more

more danger and jeopardie, then if he had committed but ſingle fellony. Therefore, while we goe about with ſuch cruelty to make theeues afraid, we provoke them to kill good men. Now as touching this queſtion, what puniſhment were more commodious and better: that truly in my judgement is eaſier to be found then what puniſhment might be worſe. For why ſhould we doubt that to be a good and a profitable way for the puniſhment of offendors, which we know did in times paſt ſo long pleaſe the Romanes, men in the adminiſtration of a Weale publike moſt expert, politique and cunning? Such as among them were convict of great and heynous treſpaſſes, them they condemne into ſtone quarries, and into mines to digge mettall, there to be kept in chaines all the dayes of their life. But as concerning this matter, I allow the ordinance of nation ſo

What lawfull puniſhment may be deviſed for Theft.

How the Romans puniſhed theft.

so well as that which I saw, whiles I travelled abroad about the world, vsed in *Persia* among the people that commonly be called the Polylerites : whose land is both large and ample, and also well and wittily governed ; and the people in all conditions free, and ruled by their owne lawes, saving that they pay a yearely tribute to the great King of *Persia*.

A worthy and commendable punishmẽt of theeues in the Weale publike of the Polilerites in Persia.

But because they be farre from the Sea, compalled and inclosed, almost round about with high mountaines, and doe content themselues with the fruits of their owne land, which is of it selfe very fertill and fruitfull : for this cause neither they goe to other Countries, nor other come to them. And according to the old custome of the Land, they desire not to enlarge the bounds of their Dominions : and those that they haue, by reason of the high hills be easily defended : and the

tribute which they pay to their chiefe Lord and King, setteth them quit and free from warfare. Thus their life is commodious rather then gallant, and may better be called happy or wealthy, then notable and famous: For they be not knowne, as much as by name, I suppose saving onely to their next neighbours and borders. They that in this Land be attainted and convict of Fellony, make restitution of that which they stole, to the right owner: and not (as they doe in other lands) to the King: whom they thinke to haue no more right to the theefe-stollen thing, then the theefe himselfe hath. But if the thing be lost or made away, then the value of it is paid of the goods of such offenders, which else remaineth all whole to their wiues, and children. And they themselues be cõdemned to be cõmon labourers, and unlesse the theft be very hainous, they be

A priuy nip for them that doe otherwise.

Theeues condemned to be common labourers.

be neither locked in prison, nor fettered in gyues, but be vsed and goe at large, labouring in the common workes. They that refuse labour, or goe slowly or slacke to their worke, be not only tyed in chaines, but also pricked forward with stripes. But being diligent about their worke, they liue without checke or rebuke. Every night they be called in by name, and be locked in their chambers. Beside their daily labour, their life is nothing hard or incommodious; their fare is indifferent good, borne at the charges of the Weale publike; because they be common seruants to the Common-wealth. But their charges in all places of the land is not borne alike. For in some parts that which is bestowed vpon them is gathered of almes. And though that way be vncertaine; yet the people be so full of mercy and pitty, that none is found more profitable or

plentifull. In ſome places certaine Ladies be appointed hereunto: of the revenues whereof they be maintained. And in ſome places every man giveth a certaine tribute for the ſame vſe and purpoſe.

Servingmen.

Againe in ſome part of the land theſe Servingmen (for ſo be theſe damned perſons called) doe not common worke, but as every private man needeth labours, ſo he commeth into the market-place, and there hireth ſome of them for meat and drinke, and a certaine limited wages by the day, ſomewhat cheaper then he ſhould hire a free-man. It is alſo lawfull for them to chaſtice the ſlouth of theſe ſervingmen with ſtripes. By this meanes they never lacke worke, and beſides the gaining of their meat and drink, every one of them bringeth daily ſomething into the common Treaſury. All and every one of them be apparelled in one colour

lour. Their heads be not poled or ſhaven, but rounded a little aboue the eares. And the tip of the one eare is cut off. Every one of them may take meate and drinke of their friends, and alſo a coat of their owne colour: but to receiue money is death, aſwell to the giuer, as to the receiuer. And no leſſe jeopardy it is for a freeman to receiue money of a ſeruingman, for any manner of cauſe: and likewiſe for ſeruingmen to touch weapons. The ſeruingmen of euery ſeuerall ſhiere be diſtinct and knowne from other, by their ſeuerall and diſtinct badges: which to caſt away is death: as it is alſo to be ſeene out of the precinct of their owne ſhiere; or to talke with a ſeruingman of another ſhiere. And it is no leſſe danger to them, for to intend to runne away, then to doe it indeed. Yea, and to conceale ſuch an enterpriſe in a ſeruingman, it is death; in a free

An euill intent eſteemed as the deed.

man, seruiende. Of the contrary part, to him that openeth and vttereth such counsels, be decreed large gifts: to a Freeman, a great summe of money; to a Seruingman freedome: and to them both forgiuenesse and pardon of that they were of counsell in that pretence. So that it can never be so good for them to goe forward in their euill purpose, as by repentance to turne backe. This is the Law and order in this behalfe, as I haue shewed you: Wherein what humanity is vsed, how farre it is from cruelty, and how commodious it is, you doe plainly perceiue. For as much as the end of their wrath and punishment intendeth nothing else, but the destruction of vices, and saving of men: with so vsing, and ordering them, that they cannot chuse but be good; and what harme soeuer they did before, in the residue of their life, to make amends for the same.

The right end and intent of punishments.

More-

Moreouer it is ſo little feared, that they ſhould turne againe to their vicious conditions, that way-faring men will for their ſafeguard chooſe them to their guides before any other, in euery thiere changing and taking new: For if they would commit robbery, they haue nothing about them meete for that purpoſe. They may touch no weapons: money found about them, ſhould betray the robbery. They ſhould be no ſooner taken with the manner, but forthwith they ſhould be puniſhed. Neither can they haue any hope at all to ſcape away by flying: For how ſhould a man, that in no part of his apparell is like other men, flye privily and vnknowne, vnleſſe he would runne away naked? Howbeit, ſo alſo flying, he ſhould be deſcried by the rounding of his head, and his eare-marke. But it is a thing to be doubted, that they will lay their heads together, and

conſpire againſt the Weale publike. No, no, I warrant you: For the Servingmen of one ſhiere alone, could never hope to bring to paſſe ſuch an enterpriſe, without ſolyciting, entiſing, and alluring the Servingmen of many other ſhieres, to take their parts. Which thing is to them ſo impoſſible, that they may not as much as ſpeake or talke together, or ſalute one another. No, it is not to be thought that they would make their owne Countrymen and companions of their counſell in ſuch a matter, which they know well ſhould be jeopardy to the concealor thereof, and great commodity and goodneſſe to the opener and derector of the ſame. Whereas on the other part, there is none of them all hopeleſſe or in deſpaire to recover againe his former eſtate of freedome, by humble obedience, by patient ſuffering, and by giving good tokens and likelihood of himſelfe, that

that he will ever after that, live like a true, and an honeſt man.

For every yeare divers of them be reſtored to their freedome, through the commendation of patience. When I had thus ſpoken, ſaying moreover, that I could ſee no cauſe why this order might not be had in *England*, with much more profit, then the Iuſtice with the Lawyer ſo highly praiſed. Nay, quoth the Lawyer this could never be ſo ſtabliſhed in *England*, but that it muſt needs bring the Weale publike into great jeopardy and hazard. And as he was thus ſaying, he ſhaked his head, and made a wry mouth, and ſo he held his peace. And all that were preſent, with one aſſent agreed to his ſaying. Well, quoth the Cardinall, yet it were hard to judge without a proofe, whether this order would doe well here or no. But when the ſentence of death is given, if then the King ſhould

command execution to be referred and spared, and would prove this order and fashion, taking away the priviledge of Sanctuaries: if then the proofe should declare the thing to be good and profitable, then it were well done that it were stablished: Else then condemned and reprived persons may as well be put to death after this proofe, as when they were first cast. Neither any jeopardy can in the meane space grow hereof. Yea, and me thinketh that these Vagabonds may very well be ordered after the same fashion, against whom we have hitherto made so many lawes, and so little prevailed. When the Cardinall had thus said, then every man gave great praise to my sayings, which a little before they had disallowed. But most of all was esteemed that which was spoken of Vagabonds, because it was the Cardinals addition. I cannot tell whether it were

Vagabonds

The wavering judgements of flatterers.

were beſt to rehearſe the communication that followed; for it was not very ſad. But yet you ſhall heare it, for there was no evill in it, and partly is pertained to the matter before-ſaid. There chanced to ſtand by a certaine jeſting Paraſite, or ſcoffer, which would ſeeme to reſemble and counterfeit the foole. But he did in ſuch wiſe counterfet, that he was almoſt the very ſame indeed that he laboured to preſent: he ſo ſtudied with words and ſayings, brought forth ſo out of time and place, to make ſport and more laughter, that he himſelfe was often-times laughed at, then his jeſts were. Yet the fooliſh fellow brought out now and then ſuch indifferent and reaſonable ſtuffe, that he made the Proverbe true, which ſaith: He that ſhooteth oft, at the laſt ſhall hit the marke: So that when one of the company ſaid, that through my communication

nication, a good order was found for Theeues, and that the Cardinall also had well prouided for Vagabonds, so that onely remained some good prouision to be made for them that through sicknesse and age were fallen into poverty, and were become so impotent and vnweldy, that they were not able to worke for their living. Tush (quoth he) let me alone with them: you shall see me doe well enough with them. For I had rather then any good, that this kind of people were driuen somewhere out of my sight, they haue so sore troubled me many times and oft when they haue with their lamentable teares begged money of me: and yet they could never to my mind so tune their song, that thereby they ever got of me one farthing. For euermore the one of these chanced: either that I would not, or else that I could not, because I had it not. Therfore

Sick, aged, impotent persons and beggers.

now

now they be waxed wise: For whē they see me goe by, because they will not leese their labour, they let me passe, and say not one word to me. So they looke for nothing of me, no in good sooth, no more, then if I were a Priest, or a Monk. But I will make a Law, that all these beggers shall be distributed, and bestowed into houses of religion. The men shall be made Lay brethren, as they call them; and the women, Nunnes. Here at the Cardinall smiled, and allowed it in jeast, yea, and all the residue in good earnest.

A common Proverbe among Beggers.

But a certaine Fryar, graduate in divinity, tooke such pleasure and delight in this jeasts of Priests and Monkes, that he also (being else a man of grisly and sterne gravity) began merily and wantonly to jest and taunt. Nay, (quoth he) you shall not be so rid and dispatched of beggers, unlesse you make some provision also for vs Fryars.

A merry talke betweene a Fryar and a Foole.

Why

Why, quoth the Leaster, that is done already, for my Lord himselfe set a very good order for you, when he decreed, that Vagabonds should be kept straight and set to worke: for you be the greatest and veriest Vagabonds that be. This jeast also when they saw the Cardinall not disproue it, every man tooke it gladly, saving onely the Fryar: For he (and that no meruaile) being thus touched on the quicke, and hit on the gaule, so fretted, so fumed, and chafed at it, and was in such a rage, that he could not refraine himselfe from chiding, scolding, railing, and reuiling. He called the fellow Ribbald, villaine, Iauell, backbiter, slanderer, and the child of perdition: citing therewith terrible threatnings out of holy Scripture. Then the jeasting scoffer began to play the scoffer indeed, and verily he was good at that: for he could play a part in that play, no man better. Patient your selfe,

good Master Fryar (quoth he) and be not angry; for Scripture saith: In your patience you shall saue your soules. Then the Fryar (for I will rehearse his owne very words:) No gallowes wretch, I am not angry (quoth he) or at the least-wise, I doe not sinne: for the Psalmist saith. Be you angry and sinne not. Then the Cardinall spake gently to the Fryar, and desired him to quiet himselfe. No my Lord (quoth he) I speak not but of a good zeale as I ought; for holy men had a good zeale: Wherefore it is said; The zeale of thy house hath eaten me. And it is sung in ℣ Church: The scorners of *Helizeus*, whiles he went vp into the house of God, felt the zeale of the bald, as peradventure this scorning villaine Ribbauld shall feele. You doe it (quoth the Cardinall) perchance of a good minde and affection: but me thinketh you should doe, I cannot

Talis qualis sed according to the person that speaketh.

not tell whether more holily, certes more wisely, if you would not set your wit to a fooles wit, and with a foole take in hand a foolish contention. No forsooth my Lord (, quoth he) I should not doe more wisely : for *Solomon* the wise saith : Answer a foole according to his folly, like as I doe now, and doe shew him the pit that he shall fall into, if he take not heed : For if many scorners of *Helizeus*, which was but one bald man, felt the zeale of the bald, how much more shall one scorner of many Fryars feele, among whom be many bald men ? And wee have also the Popes Buls, whereby all that mocke and scorne vs be excommunicated, suspended and accursed. The Cardinall seeing no end would be made, sent away the leaster by a privy beck and turned the communication to another matter. Shortly after, when he was risen from the table, he went to heare his suitors,

and ſo diſmiſſed vs. Looke Maſter *Moore*, with how long and tedious a tale I haue kept you, which ſurely I would haue beene aſhamed to haue done, but that you ſo earneſtly deſired me, and did after ſuch a ſort giue eare vnto it, as though you would not that any parcell of that communication ſhould be left out. Which though I haue done ſomewhat briefly, yet could I not chooſe but rehearſe it, for the iudgement of them, which when they had improued and diſallowed my ſayings, yet incontinent hearing the Cardinall allow them, did themſelues alſo approue the ſame: ſo impudently flattering him, that they were nothing aſhamed to admit, yea, almoſt in good earneſt, his jeaſtures and fooliſh inuentions: becauſe that he himſelf by ſmiling at them, did ſeeme not to diſproue them. So that hereby you may right-well perceiue how little the courtiers would regard and

and esteeme me and my sayings. I ensure you, Master *Raphael*, quoth I, I tooke great delectation in hearing you: all things that you said, were spoken so wittily and so pleasantly. And me thought me selfe to be in the meane time, not onely at home in my Country, but also through the pleasant remembrance of the Cardinall, in whose house I was brought up of a Child, to wax a child againe. And friend *Raphael*, though I did beare very great love towards you before, yet seeing you doe so earnestly favour this man, you will not believe how much my love towards you is now increased. But yet, all this notwithstanding, I can by no meanes change my mind, but that I must needs beleeve, that you, if you be disposed, and can find in your heart to follow some Princes Court, shall with your good counsels greatly helpe and further the Common-wealth.

Where-

Wherefore there is nothing more appertaining to your duty, that is to say, to the duty of a good man. For whereas your *Plato* judgeth that weale-publikes shall by this meanes attaine perfect felicity; either if Philosophers be Kings, or else if Kings give themselves to the study of Philosophy; how farre I pray you, shall Common-wealths then be from this felicitie, if Philosophers will vouchsafe to instruct Kings with their good counsell? They be not so unkind (quoth he) but they would gladly doe it, yea, many have done it already in books that they have put forth, if Kings and Princes would be willing and ready to follow good counsell. But *Plato* doubtlesse did well fore-see, unlesse Kings themselves would apply their mindes to the study of Philosophy, that else they would never thorowly allow the counsell of Philosophers, being themselves before even

euen from their tender age infected, and corrupt with peruerse and euill opinions, Which thing *Plato* himselfe prooued true in king *Dyonise*, If I should propose to any King wholsome decrees, doing my endeuour to pluck out of his mind the pernicious originall causes of vice and naughtinesse, thinke you not that I should forthwith either be driuen away, or else made a laughing stocke? Well, suppose I were with the *French* King, and there sitting in his Counsell, whiles in that most secret consultation, the King himselfe there being present in his owne person, they beat their braines, and search the very bottomes of their wits, to discusse by what craft and meanes the King may still keepe *Millaine*, and draw to him againe fugitiue *Naples*: and then how to conquer the *Venetians*, and how to bring vnder his iurisdiction all *Italie*; then how to winne the

The French men priuily be counselled from the desire of Italy.

Dominion

Dominion of *Flanders*, *Brabant*, and all *Burgundy*; with divers other Lands, whose Kingdomes hee hath long agoe in mind and purpose invaded. Heere, whiles one counsaileth to conclude a League of Peace with the *Venetians*; so long to endure, as shall be thought meete and expedient for their purpose, and to make them also of their Councell; yea and besides that, to give them part of the prey, Which afterward, when they have brought their purpose about, after their owne mindes, they may require and claime again? Another thinketh best to hyre the *Germans*: Another, would have the favour of the *Switzers* wonne with money: Anothers advice, is to appease the puissant power of the Emperors Majestie with Gold, as with a most pleasant and acceptable sacrifice: Whiles another giveth counsell to make peace with the King of *Arragon*, & to restore unto

Lance-knights.

unto him his owne Kingdome of *Navarre*, as a full assurance of of peace: Another commeth in with his five egges, and adviseth to looke in the King of *Castile*, with some hope of affinitie, or allyance; and to bring to their part certaine Peeres of his Court, for great Pensions.

Whiles they all stay at the chiefest doubt of all, what to doe in the meane time with *England*; and yet agree all in this, to make with the *English-men*, and with most sure and strong bonds to binde that weake and feeble friendship, so that they must be called friends, and had in suspition as enemies. And that therefore the *Scots* must be had in a readinesse, as it were in a standing, ready at all occasions (in case the *English-men* should stir never so little) incontinent to set upon them. And moreover, privily and secretly (for openly it may not be done, by the Truce that

that is taken;) privily therefore, I ſay, to make much of ſome Peere of *England*, that is baniſhed his Countrey, which muſt clayme Title to the Crowne of the Realme, and affirme himſelfe juſt Inheritor thereof: that by this ſubtile meanes they may hold to them the King, in whom elſe they have but ſmall truſt and affiance.

Here, I ſay, where ſo great and high matters be in conſultation, where ſo many noble and wiſe men counſaile their King onely to Warre: here if I, ſilly man, ſhould riſe up, and will them to turne over the Leaſe, and learne a new Leſſon, ſaying; That my counſaile is not to meddle with *Italie*, but to tarry ſtill at home; and that the Kingdome of *France* alone is almoſt greater, then that it may well be governed of one man; ſo that the King ſhould not need to ſtudy how to get more: And then

then should propose unto them the Decrees of the People that be called the *Achorians*, which be scituate over-against the Iland of *Utopia*, on the South-east side.

A notable Example, and worthy to be followed.

These *Achorians* once made warre, in their Kings quarrell, for to get him another Kingdome which hee laid clayme unto, and advanced himselfe right Inheritor to the Crowne thereof, by the Title of an old alliance. At the last, when they had gotten it, and saw that they had even as much vexation and trouble in keeping it, as they had in getting it; and that either their new conquered Subjects by sundry occasions were making daily Insurrections to rebell against them, or else that other Countries were continually with divers Inrodes and forraines invading them; so that they were ever Fighting, either for them, or against them, and never could breake up their Campes: Seeing them-

selues in the meane season, pilled and impoverished, their money carryed out of the Realme, their owne men killed, to maintaine the glory of another Nation: when they had no Warre, peace nothing better then warre, by reason that their people in warre had so injured themselues to corrupt and wicked manners, that they had taken a delight and pleasure in robbing and stealing; that through manslaughter, they had gathered boldnesse to mischiefe; that their Lawes were had in contempt, and nothing set by or regarded; that their King being troubled with the charge and governance of two Kingdomes, could not, nor was not able perfectly to discharge his office towards them both: seeing againe, that all these evils and troubles were endlesse, at the last laid their heads together, and like faithfull and loving subjects gaue to their King free

choise and liberty to keepe ſtill the one of theſe two Kingdomes, whether he would ; alledging, that he was not able to keepe both, and that they were more then might well be governed of halfe a King, for as much as no man would be content to take him for his Mulettor, that keepeth another mans Mules beſides his. So this good Prince was conſtrained to be content with his old Kingdome, and to giue over the new to one of his friends, who ſhortly after was violently driven out.

Furthermore, if I ſhould declare vnto them, that all this buſie preparance to warre, whereby ſo many Nations for his ſake ſhould be brought into a troubleſome hurly-burly, when all his Coffers were emptied, his Treaſures waſted, and his people deſtroyed, ſhould at the length through ſome miſchance, be in vaine, and to none effect : and that

that therefore it were best for him to content himselfe with his owne Kingdome of *France*, as his fore-fathers and predecessors did before him, to make much of it, to enrich it, and to make it as flourishing as he could, to endevour himselfe to loue his subiects, and againe to be beloued of them, willingly to liue with them, peaceably to governe them, and with other Kingdomes not to meddle, seeing that which he hath already is even enough for him, yea, and more then he can well turne him to.

This mine advice, Master *Moore*, how thinke you, would it not be hardly taken? So God helpe me, not very thankfully, (quoth I,) Well let vs proceed then (quoth he,) Suppose that some King and his Counsell were together, whetting their wits, and devising what subtile craft they might invent, to enrich the King with great Treasures of

Money.

Enhancing and embasing of Coynes.

First, one counsaileth to raise and enhance the valuation of Money, when the King must pay any; and againe, to call downe the value of Coyne to lesse then it is worth, when he must receiue or gather any: For thus, great summes shall be paid with a little money; and where little is due, much shall be received.

Counterfeit Warres.

Another counsaileth to faine Warre: that when under this colour and pretence the King hath gathered great abundance of money, he may, when it shall please him, make peace with great solemnity, and holy ceremonies, to blind the eyes of the poore Communalty, as taking pitty and compassion forsooth vpon mans bloud, like a loving and a mercifull Prince.

The renewing of old Lawes.

Another putteth the King in remembrance of certaine old and moath-eaten Lawes, that of long time haue not beene

beene put in execution, which because no man can remember that they were made, every man hath transgressed. The fines of these Lawes he counsaileth the King to require: for there is no way so profitable, nor more honourable, as that which hath a shew and colour of Iustice.

Another adviseth him to forbid many things vnder great Penalties and Fines, specially such things as is for the peoples profit not to be vsed; & afterward, to dispence for money with them which by this prohibition sustain losse and dammage: For by this meanes, the favor of the people is won, & profit riseth two wayes: first, by taking forfeits of them, whom covetousnesse of gaynes hath brought in danger of this Statute, and also by selling Priviledges and Licences; which the better that the Prince is, forsooth, the dearer he selleth them, as one that is loath to

Restraint

Selling of Licences.

grant to any private person any thing that is against the profit of his People; and therefore may set none, but at an exceeding deare price.

Another giveth the king counsel to endanger vnto his Grace the Iudges of the Realme, that he may have them ever on his side, and that they may in every matter dispute and reason for the Kings right. Yea, and further to call them into his Pallace, and to require them, there to argue and discusse his matters in his owne presence: So there shall be no matter of his so openly wrong and vniust, wherein one or other of them, either because he will have something to alledge and obiect; or that he is ashamed to say that which is said already; or else to picke a thanke with his Prince, will not finde some hole open to set a snare in, wherewith to take the contrary part in a trip.

Thus

Thus whiles the Iudges cannot agree amongst themselves, reasoning and arguing of that which is plaine enough, & bringing the manifest truth in doubt: in the meane season, the King may take a fit occasion to understand the Law as shall most make for his advantage, whereunto all other for shame, or for feare will agree. Then the Iudges may bee bold to pronounce on the Kings side: for hee that giveth sentence for the King, cannot be without a good excuse: For it shall be sufficient for him to have equity on his part, or the bare words of the Law, a wrythen and wrested understanding of the same (or else, which with good and iust Iudges is of greater force then all lawes be) the Kings indisputable Prerogative. To conclude, all the Counsellers agree and consent together with the rich *Crassus*, That no abundance of gold can be sufficient for a

The saying of rich Crassus.

Prince, which muſt keepe and maintaine an Army: furthermore that a King, though he would, can doe nothing vniuſtly.

For all that men have, yea, alſo the men themſelves be all his. And that every man hath ſo much of his owne, as the Kings gentleneſſe hath not taken from him. And that it ſhall be moſt for the Kings aduantage, that his ſubiects haue very little or nothing in their poſſeſſion, as whoſe ſafeguard doth herein conſiſt, that his people doe not waxe wanton and wealthy through riches and liberty, becauſe when theſe things be, there men be not wont patiently to obey hard, vniuſt, and vnlawfull commandements. Whereas on the other part, need and poverty doth hold downe and keepe vnder ſtout courages, and maketh them patient perforce, taking from them bold and rebelling ſtomackes.

Here

Here againe if I ſhould riſe vp, and boldly affirme, that all theſe counſels be to the King diſhonour and reproach, whoſe honour and ſafety is more and rather ſupported and vpholden by the wealth and riches of his people, then by his owne Treaſures? and if I ſhould declare that the communalty chooſeth their king for their owne ſake, and not for his ſake: to the intent, that through his labour and ſtudy they might all liue wealthy, ſafe from wrongs and injuries: and that therefore the King ought to take more care for the wealth of his people, then for his owne wealth, euen as the office and duty of a ſhepheard is in that he is a ſhepheard, to feed his ſheepe rather then himſelfe. For as touching this, that they thinke the defence and maintenance of peace to conſiſt in poverty of the people, the thing it ſelf ſheweth that they be farre out of the

Poverty the mother of debate, and decay of Realms.

way? For where shall a man find more wrangling, quarrelling, braveling and chiding, then among Beggers? Who bee more desirous of new munations and alterations, then they that be not content with the present state of that life? Or finally, who be bolder stomacked to bring all in a hurly-burly (thereby trusting to get some wind-fall) then they that have now nothing to leese? And if any King were so smally regarded, & so lightly esteemed; yea, so bo-hated of his Subjects, that other wayes hee could not keepe them in awe, but onely by open wrongs, by polling and shaving, and by bringing them to beggerie; surely, it were better for him to forsake his Kingdome then to hold it by that meanes: whereby though the name of a King be kept, yet the Majesty is lost: For it is against the dignity of a King to have rule over Beggers, but rather over rich and wealthy.

wealthy men. Of this mind was the hardy and couragious *Fabrice*, when he ſaid; that *He had rather be a Ruler of rich men, then be rich himſelfe.*

A worthy ſaying of Fabrice.

And verily, one man to liue in pleaſure and wealth, whiles all all other weepe and ſmart for it, that is the part, not of a King, but a jaylour. To be ſhort, as he is a fooliſh Phyſitian, that cannot cure his patients diſeaſe, vnleſſe he caſt him in another ſickneſſe; ſo he that cannot amend the liues of his ſubjects, but by taking from them the wealth and commodity of life: he muſt needs grant, that he knoweth not the wealth and commodity of life; he muſt needs grant, that he knoweth not the feate how to gouerne men, But let him rather amend his owne life, renounce vnhoneſt pleaſures, and forſake pride: for theſe be the chiefe vices that cauſe him to runne in the contempt or hatred of

of his people. Let him liue of his owne, hurting no man: Let him do cost not aboue his power: Let him restraine wickednesse: Let him prevent vices, and take away the occasions of offences by well-ordering his subjects, and not by suffering wickednes to encrease, afterward to be punished: Let him not be too hastie in calling againe lawes which a custome hath abrogated, especially such as have been long forgotten, and never lacked nor needed. And let him neuer under the cloake and pretence of transgression, take such fines and forfeits, as no Iudge will suffer a private person to take, as unjust and full of guile.

A strange and notable law of the Macarians

Here if I should bring forth before them the Law of the *Macarians*, which be not farre distant from *Vtopia*, whose King, the day of his Coronation is bound (by a solemne Oath, that he shall never at any time have in his Treasure above a thousand pound of Gold

Gold or Silver. They say, that a very good King, which tooke farre more care for the wealth and commodity of his Countrie, then for the enriching of himselfe, made this law to be a stop and barre to kings from heaping and whording vp so much money as might impoverish their people: For he fore-saw that this sum of treasure would suffice to support the king in battaile against his owne people, if they should chance to rebell: & also to maintaine his warres against the invasions of his forraine enemies. Againe, he perceived the same stocke of money to be too little and vnsufficient to encourage and enable him wrongfully to take away other mens goods: which was ꝑ chiefe cause why ꝑ law was made. Another cause was this. He thought ꝑ by this provision his people should not lack mony, wherewith to maintaine their daily occupying & chaffer.

And

And seeing the King could not choose but lay out and bestow all that came in above the prescripe summe of his stocke, he thought he would seeke no occasions to doe his subjects injury. Such a King shall be feared of evill men and loved of good men. These, and such other informations, if I should vse among men wholly inclined and given to the contrary part, how deafe eares thinke you shall I haue? Deafe hearers doubtlesse (quoth I.) And in good faith no mervaile. And to be plaine with you, truly I cannot allow that such communication shall be vsed, or such counsell given, as you be sure shall never be regarded nor received: For how can so strange informations be profitable, or how can they be beaten into their heads, whose minds be already preuented, with cleane contrary persuasions? This Schoole Philosophy is not unpleasant among friends

in

in familiar communication, but in the counsels of Kings, where great matters be debated and reasoned with great authority, these things haue no place.

Schoole Philosophy is the confutations of Princes hath no place.

That is it which I meant (quoth he) when I said Philosophy had no place among Kings. Indeed (quoth I) this Schoole philosophy hath not: which thinketh all things meet for every place. But there is another Philosophy more ciuill, which knoweth, as ye would say, her owne stage, and thereafter ordering and behaving her selfe in the play that she hath in hand, playeth her part accordingly with comelinesse, vttering nothing out of due order and fashion. And this is the Philosophy that you must vse. Or else whiles a Comody of *Plautus* is playing, and the vild bond-men scoffing and trifling among themselues, if you should suddenly come vpon the stage in a Philosophers apparell,

A fit and fit similitude.

and

and rehearse out of *Octavia* the place wherein *Seneca* disputeth with *Nero*: had it not beene better for you to haue played the dumme person, then by rehearsing that, which serued neither for the time nor place to haue made such a tragicall Comedy or gallimaffry: For by bringing in other stuffe that nothing appertaineth to the matter, you must needs marre & prevent the play that is in hand, though the stuffe that you bring be much better. What part soever you haue taken vpon you, play that as well as you can and make the best of it: And doe not therefore disturbe and bring out of order the whole matter, because that another which is merrier and better commeth to your remembrances.

A diligent player.

So the case standeth in a Common-wealth: and so it is in the consultations of Kings and Princes. If evill opinions and naughty perswasion cannot be vtterly & quite

quite plucked out of their hearts, if you cannot even as you would remedy vices, which vse and custome hath cõfirmed: yet for this cause you must not leaue and forsake the Common-wealth: you must not forsake the Ship in a tempest, because you cannot rule and keepe downe the winds. No nor you must not labour to driue into their heads new and strange informations, which you know well shall be nothing regarded with them that be of cleane contrary minds. But you must with a crafty wile & subtile train study and endeuour your selfe, as much as in you lieth, to handle the matter wittily and handsomly for the purpose, and that which you cannot turne to good, so to order it that it be not very bad: For it is not possible for all things to be well, vnlesse all men were good: which I think will not be yet these good many yeares. By this meanes (quoth he) nothing else will be brought to passe; but

but whiles I goe about to remedy the madnesse of others, I should be even as mad as they: For if I should speake things that be true, I must needs speake such things: but as for to speake false things, whether that be a Philosophers part or no I cannot tell, truly it is not my part. Howbeit this communication of mine though peradventure it may seeme vnpleasant to them, yet cannot I see why it should seeme strange, or foolishly newfangled. If so be that I should speake those things that PLATO faineth in his Weale publike, or that the *Vtopians* doe in theirs, these things though they were (as they be indeed) better, yet they might seeme spoken out of place. For as much as here amongst vs, every man hath his possessions severall to himselfe, and there all things be in common.

The Vtopian weale publike.

But what was in my communication contained, that might not

not, and ought not in any place to be ſpoken? Saving that to them which haue throughly decreed and determined with themſelues to runne headlong on the contrary way, it cannot be acceptable and pleaſant, becauſe it calleth them backe, and ſheweth them the jeopardies: Verily if all things that evill and vicious manners haue cauſed to ſeeme vnconvenient & naught ſhould be refuſed, as things vnmeet and reprochfull, then we muſt among Chriſtian people winke at the moſt part of all thoſe things which Chriſt taught vs, and ſo ſtraighely forbad them to be winckled at, that thoſe things alſo which he whiſpered in the eares of his Diſciples, he commanded to be proclaimed in open houſes. And yet the moſt part of them is more diſſident from the manners of the world now a dayes, then my communication was. But Preachers ſilly and wily men

following

following your counſell (as I ſuppoſe) becauſe they ſaw men evill-willing to frame their manners to Chriſts rule, they have wreſted and wried his doctrine, and like a rule of lead have applied it to mens manners: that by ſome meanes at the leaſt way, they might agree together. Wherby I cannot ſee what good they have done: but that men may more ſickly be evill. And I truly ſhould prevaile even as little in Kings counſels: For either I muſt ſay otherwayes then they ſay, and then I were as good to ſay nothing, or elſe I muſt ſay the ſame that they ſay, and (as *Mitio* ſaith in *Terence*) helpe to further their madneſſe. For that crafty will and ſubtill traine of yours, I cannot perceiue to what purpoſe it ſerveth, wherewith you would have me to ſtudy and endevour my ſelfe, if all things cannot be made good, yet to handle them wittily and handſomely for the purpoſe that as far forth

as is possible, they may not be very evill. For there is no place to dissemble in, nor to worke in. Naughty counsels must be openly allowed, and very pestilent decrees must be approved.

He shall be counted worse then a spy, yea, almost as evill as a Traitour, that with a faine heart doth praise evill and noysome decrees. Moreover, a man can have no occasion to doe good, chancing into the company of them, which will sooner pervert a good man then be made good themselves: through whose evill company he shall be marred, or else if he remain good & innocent, yet the wickednesse and folly of others shall be imputed to him, and laid in his neck. So that it is impossible with that crafty wile, and subtill traine to turne any thing to better. Wherefore *Plato* by a goodly similitude declareth, why wise men refraine to meddle in the Common-wealth: For wh[illegible] they see the people swarme

ſwarme into the ſtreetes, and daily wet to the skin with raine, and yet cannot perſwade them to goe out of the raine, and to take their houſe, knowing well, that if they ſhould goe out to them, they ſhould nothing prevaile, nor winne ought by it, but with them be wet alſo in the raine, they doe keepe themſelves within their houſes, being content that they be ſafe themſelves, ſeeing they cannot remedy the folly of the people. How be it doubtleſſe Maſter *Moore* (to ſpeake truly as my mind giveth me) where poſſeſſions be private, where money beareth all the ſtroake, it is hard and almoſt impoſſible that there the Weale publike may juſtly be governed, and proſperouſly flouriſh; vnleſſe you thinke thus: That Iuſtice is there executed, where all things come into the hands of evill men; or that proſperity there flouriſheth, where all is divided among a

few:

few: which few nevertheleſſe doe not leade their liues very wealthily, and the reſidue live miſerably, wretchedly, and beggerly.

Wherefore, when I conſider with my ſelfe, and weigh in my mind, the wiſe and godly ordinances of the *Vtopians*; among whom, with very few lawes all things be ſo well and wealthy ordered, that vertue is had in a price and eſtimation, and yet all things being there common, every man hath abundance of every thing. Againe, on the other part, when I compare with them ſo many Nations ever making new lawes, yet none of them all well and ſufficiently furniſhed with lawes: where every man calleth that he hath gotten, his owne proper and private goods, where ſo many new lawes daily made, be not ſufficient for every man to enjoy, defend, and know from another mans that which he calleth

leth his owne: which thing the infinite controverſies in the law, daily riſing, never to be ended, plainly declare to be true. Theſe things (I ſay) when I conſider with my ſelfe, I hold well with *Plat.*, and doe nothing mervaile that he would make no lawes for them; that refuſed thoſe lawes, whereby all men ſhould have and enjoy equall portions of wealths and commodities.

Plato willed all things in a Common-wealth to be common.

For the wiſe man did eaſily fore-ſee, this to be the one and onely way to the wealth of a communalty, if equality of all things ſhould be brought in and ſtabliſhed. Which I thinke is not poſſible to be obſerved, where every mans goods be proper and peculiar to himſelfe: For where every man under certaine titles and pretences draweth, and plucketh to himſelfe as much as he can; ſo that a few divide among themſelves all the whole

riches,

riches, be there never ſo much abundance and ſtore, there to the reſidue is left lacke and poverty.

And for the moſt part it chanceth, that this latter ſort is more worthy to enjoy that ſtate of wealth, then the other be: becauſe the rich men be covetous crafty, and vnprofitable. On the other part, the poore be lowly, ſimple, and by their daily labour, more profitable to the commonwealth, then to themſelues. Thus I do fully perſwade my ſelfe, that no equall and juſt diſtribution of things can be made, nor that perfect wealth ſhall ever be among men, vnleſe this propriety be exiled and baniſhed. But ſo long as it ſhall continue, ſo long ſhall remaine among the moſt and beſt part of men, the heauy and inevitable burthen of poverty and wretchednesſe. Which, as I grant that it may be ſomewhat eaſed, ſo

I vtterly deny that it can wholly to be taken away: For if there were a Statute made, that no man ſhould haue in his ſtocke aboue a preſcript and appointed ſumme of money: if it were by certaine Lawes decreed, that neither the King ſhould bee of too great power, neither the People too haughty and wealthy; and that Offices ſhould not by inordinate ſute, or by bribes and guifts: that they ſhould neither bee bought nor ſold; nor that it ſhould be needfull for the Officers, to be at any coſt or charge in their Offices: For ſo occaſion is given to them by fraud and ravine to gather up their money againe; and by reaſon of guifts and bribes, the Offices be given to rich men, which ſhould rather haue beene executed of Wiſe men: By ſuch lawes I ſay, like as Sicke bodies that be deſperate and paſt cure, be wont with continuall good cheriſhing

to

to be kept and botched up for a time: ſo theſe evils alſo may be lightned and mitigated. But that they may be perfectly cured, brought to a good and upright ſtate, it is not to be hoped for, whiles every man is Maſter of his owne to himſelfe. Yea, and whiles you goe about to doe your cure of one part, you ſhall make bigger the ſore of another part, ſo the helpe of one cauſeth anothers harme: foraſmuch, as nothing can be given to any one unleſſe it be taken from another.

But I am of a contrary opinion (quoth I) for me thinketh that men ſhall never there live wealthy, where all things bee common: For how can there be abundance of goods, or of any thing, where every man withdraweth his hand from labour? Whom the regard of his owne gaines driveth not to worke, but the hope that he hath in other

100 mens trauailes maketh him ſloathfull.

Then when they be pricked with poverty, and yet no man can by any law or right defend that for his owne, which he hath gotten with the labor of his own hands, ſhall not there of neceſſity be continuall ſedition and blood-ſhed? Specially the authority and reverence of Magiſtrates, being taken away, which, what place it may have with ſuch men among whom is no difference, I cannot deviſe. I marvaile not (quoth he) that you be of this opinion. For you conceiue in your mind either none at all, or elſe a very falſe Image and ſimilitude of this thing. But if you had beene with me in *Vtopia*, and had preſently ſeene their faſhions and lawes, as I did, which lived there fiue yeares, and more, & wold never haue come thence, but onely to make that new land knowne

knowne heere: Then doubtleſſe you would grant, that you never ſaw people well ordered, but onely there. Surely (quoth Maſter PETER) it ſhall be hard for you to make me beleeve, that there is better order in that New Land, then is here in the Countries that we know. For good wits be as well here as there: and I thinke our Common-wealths be ancienter then theirs; wherein long vſe and experience hath found out many things commodious for mans life; beſides that many things here among vs have beene found by chance, which no wit could ever have deviſed. As touching the ancientneſſe (quoth he) of Common-wealths, then, you might better judge if you had read the Hiſtories, and Chronicles of that land, which, if we may beleeue,

Cities were there, before men were heere.

Now what thing soever hitherto by wit hath beene devised, or found by chance, that might be as well there as heere. But I thinke verily, though it were so that we did passe them in wit: yet in study, in trauell, and in labourſome endevour, they farre passe vs: For (as their Chronicles testifie) before our arrivall there they never heard any thing of vs, whom they call the *Vltra. equinoctialles*: saving that once about 1200 yeares agoe, a certaine Ship was lost by the Ile of *Vtopia*, which was driven thither by tempest. Certaine *Romans* and *Egyptians* were cast on Land. Which after that never went thence.

Marke now what profit they tooke of this one occasion through diligence and earneſt trauaile. There was no craft nor science within the Empire of

Rome

Rome whereof any profit could riſe, but they either learned it of theſe ſtrangers, or elſe of them, taking occaſion to ſearch for it, found it out. So great profit was it to them that ever any went thither, from hence. But if any like chance before this hath brought any man from thence hither, that is as quite out of remembrance, as this alſo perchance in time to come ſhall be forgotten, that ever I was there. And like as they quickly, almoſt at the firſt meeting, made their owne, whatſoever is among us wealthily deviſed: So I ſuppoſe it would be long before we ſhould receive any thing, that among them is better inſtituted then among us.

And this I ſuppoſe is the chiefe cauſe why their common-wealths be wiſelyer governed, and doe flouriſh in more wealth then ours, though wee neither in wit nor riches be their inferiours.

Therefore gentle Maſter *Raphael* (quoth I) I pray you and beſeech you deſcribe vnto us the Iland. And ſtudy not to bee ſhort: but declare largely in order their Grounds, their Rivers, their Cities, their People, their Manners, their Ordinances, their Lawes, and to bee ſhort, all things that you ſhall thinke us deſirous to know. And you ſhall thinke us deſirous to know whatſoever we know not yet.

There is nothing (quoth hee) that I will doe gladlier. For all theſe things I have freſh in minde: But the matter requireth leiſure. Let us goe in therefore (quoth I) to dinner, and afterward wee will beſtow the time at our pleaſure. Content (quoth hee) be it. So wee went in and dined.

When dinner was done, we came into the ſame place againe, and ſate us downe upon the ſame bench, commanding our ſervants

vants that no man ſhould trouble us. Then I and Maſter *Peter Giles*, deſired Maſter *Raphael* to performe his promiſe.

Hee therefore ſeeing us deſirous and willing to hearken to him, when he had ſate ſtill and paused a little while, muſing and bethinking himſelfe, thus he began to ſpeake.

The end of the firſt Booke.

THE SECOND BOOKE of the Communication of RAPHAEL HYTHLODAY, concerning the beſt State of a COMMON-WEALTH.

Containing the Deſcription of VTOPIA, *with a large declaration of the politike government, and of all the good Lawes and Orders of the ſame Iland.*

THE Iland of VTOPIA, containeth in bredth in the middle part of it (for there it is broadeſt) 200 miles. Which bredth continueth through the moſt part of the Land, ſaving that by little it cōmeth in, and waxeth narrower to-

The ſyght and faſhion of the new Iland Utopia.

towards both the ends: which fetching about a circuit or compaſſe of 50 miles, doe faſhion the whole Iland like to the new Moone. betweene theſe two corners the Sea runneth in, dividing them a funder by the diſtance of 11 miles or thereabouts, & there ſurmounteth into a large Sea, which by reaſon that the Land on every ſide cõpaſſeth it about, and ſheltreth it from the winds, is not rough, nor mounteth not with great waves, but almoſt floweth quietly not much vnlike a great ſtanding poole: and maketh well-nigh all the ſpace within the belly of the Land in māner of a haven: and to the great cõmodity of the inhabitants, receiveth in Ships towards every part of the land. The forefronts or frontiers of the two corners, what with bords and ſhelves and what with rockes, be jeopardous and dangerous. In the middle diſtance between the n both, ſtandeth up above the water a great Rock, which therefore it is

is nothing perilous because it is in ſight. Vpon the top of this rock is a faire and ſtrong tower builded, which they hold with a garriſon of men. Other rockes there be lying hid under the water, which therfore be dangerous. The channels be knowne onely to themſelves. And therefore it ſeldome chanceth that any Stranger unleſſe he be guided by an *Vtopian*, can come into this haven. Inſomuch that they themſelves could ſcarcely enter without jeopardy, but that their way is directed and ruled by certaine Land-markes ſtanding on the ſhore. By turning tranſlating, and removing the markes into other places, they may deſtroy their enemies navies, be they never ſo many. The outſide or utter circuit of the land, is alſo full of havens, but the landing is ſo ſurely fenced, what by nature, & what by workmanſhip of mens hands, that a few defenders may drive back many armies

A place naturally feated, needeth one Garriſon.

A politike deviſe in the changing land-markes.

How-

The Iland of Vtopia, so named of King Vtopus.

Howbeit as they say, and as the fashion of the place it selfe doth partly shew, it was not ever compassed about with the Sea. But King VTOPVS, whose name, as conqueror, the Iland beareth: For before this time it was called *Abraxa*) which also brought the rude and wild people to that excellent perfection in all good fashions, humanity, and civill gentlenesse, wherein they now goe beyond all the people in the world: even at his arriving and entering vpon the land, forthwith obtaining the victory, caused fifteene miles space of vplandish ground, where the Sea had no passage, to be cut and digged vp. And so wrought the Sea round about the Land. Heier to this worke: not onely the inhabitants of this Iland (because they should not thinke it done in contumely and despight) but also all his owne souldiours.

Thus the worke being divided into

into so great a number of workemen, was with exceeding marvailous speed dispatched. Insomuch that the borderers which at the first began to mocke, and to jest as the vaine enterprise, then turned their derision to mervaile at the successe, and to feare. There be in the Iland fifty foure large and faire Cities, or shiere towns, agreeing altogether in one tongue, in like manners, institutions, and lawes, they be all set and situate alike, and in all points fashioned alike, as farre forth as the place or plot suffereth.

Many hands make light worke.

Cities in Utopia. Similitude causeth concord.

Of these Cities, they that be nighest together be twenty foure miles asunder. Againe, there is none of them distant from the next, aboue one dayes journey a foot. There come yearely to *Amaurote*, out of every City, three old men wise and well experienced, there to intreate and debate, of the common matters of the Land. For this City (because it stan-

A meene distance betweene City and City.

ſtandeth juſt in the midſt of the Iland, and is therefore moſt meet for the Ambaſſadours of all parts of the Realme) is taken for the chiefe and head Citty. The precincts and bounds of the Shieres, be ſo commodiouſly appointed out, and ſet forth for the Cities, that none of them all hath of any ſide leſſe then twenty miles of ground, and of ſome ſide alſo much more, as of that part where the Cities be of further diſtance a ſunder. None of the Cities deſire to enlarge the bounds and limits of their ſhieres. For they count themſelves rather the good husbands, then the owners of their lands. They have in the Countrey in all parts of the ſhiere, houſes or farmes builded, well appointed and furniſhed with all ſorts of inſtruments and tooles belonging to Husbandry. Theſe houſes be inhabited of the Citizens, which come thither to dwell by courſe.

The diſtribution of Lands. But this now a dais is the ground of all miſchiefe.

Husbandry & tillage, chiefly and principally regarded and advanced.

No

No houſhold or Farme in the Countrey hath fewer then fifty perſons men and women, beſides two bondmen, which be all vnder the rule and order of the good man, and the good wife of the houſe, being both very ſage, diſcreet; and ancient perſons. And every thirty Farmes or families have one head ruler, which is called a *Phylarch*, being as it were a head Bayliffe. Out of every one of theſe families or farmes, commeth every yeare into the City twenty perſons, which have continued two yeares before in the Countrey. In their place ſo many freſh be ſent thither out of the City, who, of them that have beene there a yeare already, and be therefore expert and cunning in husbandry, ſhall be inſtructed and taught. And they the next yeare ſhall teach other.

This order is vſed for feare that either ſcarceneſſe of victuals, or

or ſome other like incommodity ſhould chance, through lacke of knowledge: if they ſhould be altogether new, and freſh, and vnexpert in husbandry. This manner and faſhion, of yearely changing and renewing the occupiers of husbandry, though it be ſolemne and cuſtomably vſed, to thinke that no man ſhall be conſtrained againſt his will to continue long in that hard and ſharp kind of life; yet many of them have ſuch a pleaſure and delight in husbandry, that they obtaine a longer ſpace of yeares. Theſe husbandmen, plough and till the ground, and breed vp cattell, and provide and make ready wood, which they carry to the City either by land or water, as they moſt conveniently. They bring vp a great multitude of pullein, and that by a marvailous policie: for the hens doe not ſit vpon the egges; but by keeping them in a certaine equall heat they bring

The duties of men of husbandry.

A ſtrange faſhion in hatching and bringing vp of Pullein.

bring life into them, and hatch them. The chickens, as ſoone as they be come out of the ſhell, follow men and women in ſtead of the hennes. They bring vp very few horſes: nor none, but very fierce ones: and that for none other vſe or purpoſe, but onely to exerciſe their youth in riding, and, feates of Armes: For Oxen be put to all the labor of ploughing and drawing: which they grant not to be ſo good as horſes at a ſudden brunt, and (as we ſay) at a dead lift; but yet they hold an opinion, that Oxen will abide and ſuffer much more labour, paine and hardineſſe, then Horſes will. And they thinke that Oxen be not in danger and ſubject vnto ſo many diſeaſes, and that they be kept and maintained with much leſſe coſt and charge: and finally, that they be good for meat, when they be paſt labour. They ſow corne only for bread. For their drinke is either

The vſe of Horſes.

The vſe of Oxen.

Bread and drinke.

either Wine made of grapes, or elſe of apples, or Peares, or elſe it is cleare water: and many times Meath made of honey, or Licoreſſe ſodde in water; for thereof they haue great ſtore. And though they know certainly (for they know it perfectly indeed) how much victuals the City with the whole Country or Shire round about it doth ſpend: yet they ſow much more corne, and breed vp much more cattell, then ſerveth for their owne vſe, parting the overplus among their borderers. Whatſoever neceſſary things be lacking in the Countrey, all ſuch ſtuffe they fetch out of the City: where without any exchange, they eaſily obtaine it of the Magiſtrates of the City. For every moneth many of them goe into the City on the Holiday. When their harveſt day draweth neare, and is at hand, then the *Philarches*, which be the head Officers and Bailiffes of husban-

A great diſcretion in ſowing of Corne.

husbandry, ſend word to the Magiſtrates of the City what number of harveſt men is needfull to be ſent to them out of the City. The which company of harveſt men being ready at the day appointed, almoſt in one faire day diſpatcheth all the harveſt worke.

Mutuall helpe quickly diſpatched.

Of the Cities, and namely Amaurote.

AS for the Cities, who ſo knoweth one of them, knoweth them all: they be all ſo like one to another, as farre forth as the nature of the place permitteth. I will deſcribe to you one or other of them, for it skilleth not greatly which: but which rather then *Amaurote?* Of them all, this is the worthieſt and of moſt dignity.

For

The deſcriptiõ of Amaurote the chiefe City in Vtopia.

For the reſidue knowledge it for the head City, becauſe there is the Counſell houſe. Not to me anyof them all is better beloved, as wherein I lived fiue whole yeares together: the City of *Amaurote* ſtandeth vpon the ſide of a low hill, in faſhion almoſt foure ſquare. For the breadth of it beginneth a little beneath the top of the hill, and ſtill continueth by the ſpace of two miles, vntill it come to the River of *Anyder*.

The diſcription of Anyder.

The length of it, which lyeth by the rivers ſide, is ſomewhat more. The River of *Anyder* riſeth foure and twenty miles aboue *Amaurote* out of a little Spring. But being increaſed by other ſmall Rivers and Brookes that runne into it, and among other, two ſome what big ones; before the City it is halfe a mile broad, and further broader. And forty miles beyond the City it falleth into the Ocean Sea. By all that ſpace that lieth betweene the

The very like in England to the River of Thames.

the Sea and the City, and certaine miles alſo above the City, the water ebbeth and floweth ſixe houres together with a ſwift Tide. When the Sea floweth in, for the length of thirty miles, it filleth all the *Anyder* with ſalt water, and driveth back the freſh water of the River. And ſomewhat further, it changeth the ſweetneſſe of the freſh water with the ſaltneſſe. But a little beyond that, the River waxeth ſweet, and runneth fore-by the City freſh and pleaſant. And when the Sea ebbeth, and goeth backe againe, the freſh water followeth it, almoſt even to the very fall of the Sea. There goeth a Bridge over the River, made not of piles or of timber, but of ſtone worke, with gorgious and ſubſtantiall Arches, at that part of the Citty that is fartheſt from the Sea: to the intent that ſhips may paſſe along fore-by all the ſide of the City without let. They haue alſo another

Herein alſo doth London agree with Amaurote.

another River which indeed is not very great. But it runneth gently and pleſantly: For it riſeth even out of the ſame hill that the City ſtandeth vpon, and runneth downe a ſlope through the middeſt of the City into *Awyder*.

And becauſe it riſeth a little without the City, the *Amauritians* have incloſed the head ſpring of it, with ſtrong fences, and Bulwarkes, and ſo have joyned it to the City. This is done to the intent that the water ſhould not be ſtopped, nor turned away, or poyſoned, if their enemies ſhould chance to come vpon them. From thence the water is derived and conveyed downe in channels of bricke divers wayes, into the lower parts of the Citie. Where that cannot be done, by reaſon that the place will not ſuffer it, there they gather the raine water in great ciſternes, which doth them as good ſervice.

The vſe of freſh water.

ſervice. The City is compaſſed about with a high and thicke ſtone wall full of turrets and bulwarkes. A dry ditch, but deep and broad, and over-grown with buſhes, briers, and thornes, goeth about three ſides or quarters of the City. To the fourth ſide the riuer it ſelfe ſerueth as a ditch. The ſtreets be appointed and ſet forth very commodious, and handſome, both for cariage and alſo againſt the windes. The houſes be of faire and gorgious building, and on the ſtreete ſide they ſtand joyned together in a long row through the whole ſtreete, without any partition or ſeperation. The ſtreetes be twenty foote broad. On the backe ſide of the houſes through the whole length of the ſtreet, lye large Gardens incloſed round about with the backe part of the ſtreetes. Every houſe hath two doores, one into the ſtreet, and a poſterne doore

The defence of the Towne-walls.

Streets, Buildings and Houſes

To euery dwelling houſe a garden-plat adioyning.

on the backside into the Garden. These doores be made with two leaves, never locked nor bolted, so easie to be opened, that they will follow the least drawing of a finger, and shut againe alone. Who so will, may goe in, for there is nothing within the houses that is private, or any mans owne. And every tenth yeare they change their Houses by let. They set great store by their Gardens.

This geare smelleth of Plato his community

In them they have Vine-yards, all manner of Fruit, Hearbes, and Flowers, so pleasant, so well furnished, and so finely kept, that I never saw thing more fruitfull, nor better trimmed in any place. Their study and diligence herein commeth not onely of pleasure, but also of a certaine strife and contention that is betweene street and street, concerning the trimming, husbanding, and furnishing of their Gardens: every man for his owne part. And verily

rily you ſhall not lightly find in all the Citty any thing, that is more commodious, either for the profit of the Citizens, or for pleaſure. And therefore it may ſeeme that the firſt founder of the City minded nothing ſo much, as theſe Gardens. For they ſay that King *Vtopus* himſelfe, even at the firſt beginning, appointed and drew forth the plat-forme of the City into this faſhion and figure that it hath now, but the gallant garniſhing, and the beautifull ſetting forth of it, whereunto he ſaw that one mans age would not ſuffice, that he left to his poſterity. For their Chronicles which they keepe written with all diligent circumſpection, containing the Hiſtory of 1760 yeares, even from the firſt conqueſt of the Iland, record and witneſſe that the houſes in the beginning were very low, and like homely cottages or poore ſhepheard houſes, made at all

adventures of every rude peece of timber, that came first to hand, with mud walls,& ridged roofes, thatched over with straw. But now the houses be curiously builded after a gorgious and gallant sort, with three stories one over another. The out-sides of ꝯ walls be made either of hard flint,or of Plaister, or else of brick, and the inner-sides be well strengthened with timberwork. The roofes be plain and flat,covered with a certaine kind of Plaster,that is of no cost,and yet so tempered that no fire can hurt or perish it,& withstandeth the violence of the weather better then any lead. They keepe the wind out of their windowes with glasse, for it is there much vsed, and some here also with fine linnen cloath dipped in oyle or amber, and that for two commodities: For by this means more light commeth in, and the wind is better kept out.

Glased or canvased windowes.

Of

Of the Magiſtrates.

EVery thirty Families or Farmes, chooſe them yearely an Officer, which in their old language is called the *Syphogrant*, and by a newer name, the *Philarch*. Every tenne *Siphogrants*, with all their thirty families be vnder an Officer, which was once called the *Tranibore*, now the chiefe *Philarch*. Moreover as concerning the election of the Prince, all the *Siphogrants* which be in number two hundred, firſt be ſworne to chooſe him, whom they thinke moſt meete and expedient. Then by a ſecret election, they name Prince one of thoſe foure whom the people before named vnto them. For out of the foure quarters of the City there be foure choſen, out of every quarter 1, to

A Tranibore in the Vtopian tongue, ſignifieth a head or chiefe Peere. A merueilous ſtrange faſhion in chooſing Magiſtrates.

Tyranny in a well ordred Weale-publike vtterly to be abhorred.

ſtand for the election: which be put vp to the Counſell. The Princes Office continueth all his life time, vnleſſe he be depoſed or put downe for ſuſpition of tyranny. They chooſe the Tranibores yearely, but lightly they change them not. All the other Officers be but for one yeare. The Tranibores every third day, and ſometimes, if need be, oftner come into the Counſell houſe with the Prince. Their counſell is concerning the Common-wealth. If there be any controuerſies among the commoners, which be very few, they diſpatch and end them by and by. They take ever two Siphogrants to them in counſell, and every day a new couple. And it is provided, that nothing touching the common-wealth ſhall be confirmed and ratified, vnleſſe it haue beene reaſoned of and debated, three dayes in the counſell before it be decreed. It is death to haue any

Suites and controuerſies betweene party & party forthwith to be ended, which now a dayes of a ſet purpoſe be vnreaſonably delayed.

any conſultation, for the common-wealth out of the counſell, or the place of the common election. This ſtatute, they ſay, was made to the intent, that the Prince and Tranibores, might not eaſily conſpire together to oppreſſe the people by tyranny, and to change the ſtate of the Weale-publike. Therefore matters of great weight and importance be brought to the election houſe of the Siphogrants, which, open the matter to their families. And afterward, when they haue conſulted among themſelues, they ſhew their deuiſe of the counſell. Sometime the matter is brought before the counſell of the whole Iland. Furthermore this cuſtome alſo the counſell vſeth, to diſpute or reaſon of no matter the ſame day that it is firſt propoſed or put forth, but to deferre it to the next ſitting of the counſell: Becauſe that no man when he hath raſhly there

Againſt haſty and raſh decrees or ſtatutes.

A cuſtome worthy to be vſed in theſe daies in our Councels and Parliaments.

128

ſpoken that commeth to his tongues end, ſhall then afterward rather ſtudy for reaſons wherewith to defend and maintaine his firſt fooliſh ſentence, then for the commodity of the Common-wealth: as one rather willing the harme or hinderance of the Weale publike, then any loſſe or diminution of his owne eſtimation. And as one that would be aſhamed (which is a very fooliſh ſhame) to be counted any thing at the firſt over-ſeene in the matter. Who at the firſt ought to have ſpoken rather wiſely, then haſtily, or raſhly.

Of Sciences, Crafts, and Occupations.

HVsbandry is a Science common to them all in generall, both men and women, wherin they be all expert and cunning. In this they be all instructed even from their youth: partly in their Schooles with traditions and precepts, and partly in the Country nigh the City, brought vp as it were in playing, not only beholding the vse of it, but by occasion of exercising their bodies practising it also. Besides husbandry, which (as I said) is common to them all, every one of them learneth one or other seuerall and particular science, as his owne proper craft. That is most cõmonly either Cloath-working in woll or flaxe, or Masonary, or the Smiths craft, or the Carpenters science: For there is none

Husbandry or tillage practised of all estates, which now adaies is reiect vnto a few of the basest sort. Sciences or occupations should be learned for necessities sake, and not for the maintenance of vntoward excesse and wanton pleasure.

none other occupation that any number to ſpeake of doth vſe there.

Similitude in apparell.

For their garments, which throughout all the Iland be of one faſhion, (ſaving that there is a difference betweene the mans garment and the womans, betweene the married and the vnmarried) and this one continueth for evermore vnchanged, ſeemely and comely to the eye, no let to the moving and welding of the body, alſo fit both for winter and ſummer: as for theſe garments (I ſay) every family maketh their owne. But of the other foreſaid crafts every man learneth one. And not onely the men but alſo the women. But the women, as the weaker ſort, be put to the eaſier crafts: as to worke wooll and flaxe. The more laborſome ſciences be committed to the men. For the moſt part, every man is brought vp in his fathers craft. For moſt commonly they

No Citizen without a ſcience.

be

be naturally thereto bent and inclined. But if a mans mind ſtand to any other, he is by adoption put into a family of that occupation, which he doth moſt fantaſie. Whom not onely his father, but alſo the Magiſtrate doe diligently looke to, that he be put to a diſcreet and an honeſt houſholder. Yea, and if any perſon, when he hath learned one craft, be deſirous to learne alſo another, he is likewiſe ſuffered and permitted. When he hath learned both, he occupieth whether he will: vnleſſe the City hath more need of the one, then the other. The chiefe and almoſt the onely office of the *Syphogrants* is, to ſee and take heed, that no man ſit idle: but that every one apply his owne craft with earneſt diligence. And yet for all that, not to be wearied from early in the morning, too late in the evening, with continuall worke, like labouring and toyling Beaſts.

To what occupation every one is naturally inclined that let him learne.

Idle perſons to be driven out of the Weale publique.

For

For this is worſe then the miſerable and wretched condition of bondmen.

A moderation in the labour and toyle of artificers.

Which, nevertheleſſe is almoſt every where the life of workmen and artificers, ſaving in *Vtopia*. For they dividing the day and the night into twenty foure juſt houres, appoint and aſſigne only 6 of thoſe hours to worke, before noone vpon the which they goe ſtrait to dinner, and after dinner, when they have reſted 2 houres, then they worke three houres, and vpon that they goe to ſupper. About eight of the clocke in the evening (counting one of the clocke the firſt houre After noone) they goe to bed: eight houres they give to ſleepe. All the voide time, that is betweene the houres of worke, ſleepe, and meate, that they be ſuffered to beſtow every man as he liketh beſt himſelfe. Not to the intent that they ſhould miſpend this time in riot, or ſloath

133

ſloathfulneſſe, but being then licenſed from the labour of their owne occupations, to beſtow the time well & thriftily vpon ſome other Science, as ſhall pleaſe them: For it is a ſolemne cuſtome there, to have Lectures daily early in the morning, whereto be preſent, they only be conſtrained, that be namely, choſen and appointed to learning. Howbeit a great multitude of every ſort of people, both men and women goe to heare Lectures, ſome one and ſome another, as every mans nature is inclined. Yet this notwithſtanding, if any man had rather beſtow this time vpon his owne occupation, as it chanceth in many, (whoſe minds riſe not in the contemplation of any Science liberall) he is not letted nor prohibited, but is alſo praiſed and commended, as profitable to the Common-wealth. After Supper, they beſtow one houre in play: in Summer,

The ſtudy of good literature.

Playing after ſupper.

in

in their Gardens: in Winter, in their common Halls, where they dine and ſup. There they exerciſe themſelves in Muſicke, or elſe in honeſt and wholſome communication. Dice-play, and ſuch other fooliſh and pernicious games, they know not. But they vſe two games, not much vnlike the Cheſſe. The one is the battaile of numbers, wherein one number ſtealeth away another. The other is where vices fight with vertues, as it were in battaile array, or a ſet Field. In the which game is very properly ſhewed, both the ſtrife and diſcord, that the vices have among themſelves, and againe their vnity and concord againſt vertues. And alſo what vices be repugnant to what vertues: with what power and ſtrength they aſſaile them openly: by what wiles and ſubtilty they aſſault them ſecretly: with what helpe and ayd the vertues reſiſt, and overcome the

But now a dayes dice-play is the paſtime of Princes.

Players of games alſo profitable.

puiſſance

the puiſſance of the vices: by what craft they fruſtrate their purpoſes: and finally by what sleight or meanes the one getteth the victory. But here leaſt you be deceived, one thing you muſt looke more narrowly vpon. For ſeeing they beſtow but ſixe houres in worke, perchance you may thinke that the lacke of ſome neceſſary things hereof may enſue. But this is nothing ſo; For that ſmall time is not onely enough, but alſo too much for the ſtore and abundance of all things, that be requiſite, either for the neceſſity, or commodity of life. The which thing you alſo ſhall perceiue, if you weigh and conſider with your ſelves how great a part of the people in other Countries liveth idle. Firſt almoſt all women, which be the halfe of the whole number: or elſe if the women be ſomewhere occupyed, there moſt commonly in their ſtead the men be idle.

The kinds of ſorts of idle people.

Women.

Be-

136

Beſides this, how great and how idle a company is there of Prieſts, and religious men, as they call them? put thereto all rich men, ſpecially all landed men, which commonly be called Gentlemen, and noblemen. Take into this number alſo their ſervants: I meane all that flocke of ſtout bragging rushbucklers. Ioyne to them alſo ſturdy and valiant beggers, cloaking their idle life vnder the colour of ſome diſeaſe or ſickneſſe.

Prieſts and religious men. Rich men and landed men.

Seruingmen. Sturdy and valiant beggers.

And truly you ſhall find them much fewer then you thought, by whoſe labour all theſe things are wrought, that in mens affaires are now daily vſed and frequented. Now conſider with your ſelfe, of theſe few that doe worke, how few be occupyed, in neceſſary workes: For where money beareth all the ſwing, there many vaine and ſuperfluous occupations muſt needs be vſed to ſerve onely for riotous ſuperfluity

Wonderfull wittily ſpoken.

fluity, and vnhoneſt pleaſure: for the ſame multitude that now is occupyed in worke, if they were diuided into ſo few occupations, as the neceſſary vſe of nature requireth, in ſo great plenty of things as then of neceſſity would enſue, doubtleſſe the prices would be too little for the artificers to maintaine their liuings.

But if all theſe, that be now buſied about vnprofitable occupations, with all the whole ſorte of the that liue idlely & ſloathfully, which conſume and waſt euery one of them more of theſe things that come by other mens labour, then two of the workmen themſelues doe: if all theſe (I ſay) were ſet to profitable occupations: you eaſily perceiue how little time would be enough, yea, and too much to ſtore vs with all things that may be requiſite either for neceſſity or commodity, yea or for pleaſure, ſo

so that the same pleasure be true and naturall. And this in *Vtopia* the thing it selfe maketh manifest and plaine. For there in all the City with the whole Country, or Shire adioyning to it, scarcely fiue hundred persons of all the whole number of men and women, that be neither too old nor too weake to worke, be licensed and discharged from labour. Among them be the *Syphogrants* (who though they be by the lawes exempt and priuileged from labour) yet they exempt not themselues: to the intent they may the rather by their example to prouoke others to worke.

Not as much as the Magistrates liue idely.

The same vocation from labour doe they also enioy, to whom the people perswaded by the commendation of the Priests, and secret election of the *Syphogrants*, haue giuen a perpetuall licence, from labour to learning. But if any one of them proue

not

not according to the expectation and hope of him conceiued, he is forthwith plucked backe to the company of artificers. And contrariwise, and often it chanceth that a handicrafts man doth so earnestly bestow his vacant and spare houres in learning, and through diligence so profiteth therein, that he is taken from his handy occupation, and promoted to the company of the learned. Out of this order of the learned be chosen Ambassadours, Priests, Tranibores, and finally the Prince himselfe. Whom they in their old tongue call *Barzanes*, and by a newer name, *Adamus*.

Only learned men called to Offices.

The residue of the people being neither idle, nor yet occupyed about vnprofitable exercises, it may be easily judged in how few houres how much good worke by them may be done and dispatched, towards those things that I haue spoken off. This commodity they haue also aboue other,

How to auoid excessiue cost in building.

other, that in the moſt part of neceſſary occupations they need not ſo much worke, as other nations doe. For firſt of all the building or repairing of houſes aſketh every where ſo many mens continuall labour, becauſe that the vnthrifty heire ſuffereth the houſes that his father builded, in continuance of time, to fall in decay. So that which he might haue vpholden with little coſt, his ſucceſſor is conſtrained to build it againe a new, to his great charge. Yea many times alſo the houſe that ſtood one man in much money: and another is of ſo nice and ſo delicate a mind, that he ſetteth nothing by it. And it being neglected, & therefore ſhortly falling into ruine, he buildeth vp another in another place with no leſſe coſt and charge.

But among the *Vtopians*, where all things be ſet in good order, and the Commonwealth in a good ſtay, it ſeldome chanceth, that they chooſe

a new plot to build an houſe vpon. And they doe not onely find ſpeedy and quicke remedies for preſent faults: but alſo prevent them that be like to fall. And by this meanes their houſes continue and laſt very long with little labour and ſmall reparations, inſomuch that theſe kind of workemen ſometimes have almoſt nothing to doe. But that they be commanded to hew timber at home, and to ſquare and trimme vp ſtones, to the intent that if any worke chance, it may the ſpeedilier riſe. Now Sir, in their apparell, marke (I pray you) how few workemen they need. Firſt of all, whiles they be at worke, they be covered homely with leather, or skins, that will laſt ſeaven yeares. When they go forth abroad, they caſt vpon them a cloke, which hideth the other homely apparell. Theſe cloakes throughout the whole Iland, be all of one colour; and

How to leſſen the charge in apparell.

and that is the naturall colour of the wooll. They therefore doe not onely ſpend much wollen cloth, then is ſpent in other Countries, but alſo the ſame ſtandeth them in much leſſe coſt. But linnen cloath is made with leſſe labour, and is therefore had more in vſe. But in linnen cloath only whitenelſe; in wollen, onely cleanlineſſe is regarded. As for the ſmalneſſe or fineneſſe of the thred, that is nothing paſſed for. And this is the cauſe wherefore in other places foure or fiue cloath gownes of divers colours, and as many ſilke coates b: not enough for one man. Yea, and if he be of the dilicate and nice ſort, tenne be too few: where as there one garment will ſerve a man moſt commonly two years: For why ſhould he deſire more? ſeeing if he had them, he ſhould not be the better hapt or covered from cold, neither in his apparell any whit the comlier.

Where-

Wherefore, ſeeing they be all exerciſed in profitable occupations, and that few Artificiers in the ſame crafts be ſufficient: this is the cauſe that plenty of all things being among them, they doe ſometimes bring forth an innumerable company of people to amend the high-wayes, if any be broken. Many times alſo, when they have no ſuch worke to be occupyed about, an open proclamation is made, that they ſhall beſtow fewer houres in worke: For the Magiſtrates doe not exerciſe their Citizens againſt their wills in vnneedfull labours. For why, in the inſtitution of the Weale publike, this end is onely and chiefly pretended and minded, that what time may poſſibly be ſpared from the neceſſary occupations and affaires of the Common-wealth, all that the Citizens ſhould withdraw from the bodily ſervice to the free liberty of the mind and garniſh-

ing

ing of the ſame. For herein they ſuppoſe the felicity of this life to conſiſt.

Of their living and mutuall converſation together.

But now will I declare how the Citizens vſe themſelves one to another: what familiar occupying and entertainment, there is among the people, and what faſhion they vſe in the diſtribution of every thing. Firſt, the City conſiſteth of families, the families moſt commonly be made of kinreds. For the women when they be married at a lawfull age, they goe into their husbands houſes.

But the male Children, with all the whole male off-ſpring continue ſtill in their owne family, and be governed of the eldeſt and ancienteſt father, vnleſſe he

he dote for age: for then the next to him in age, is placed in his roome. But to the intent the prescripte number of the citizens should neither decrease; nor aboue measure increase, it is ordained that no family, which in every City be sixe thousand in the whole, besides them of the Countrey, shall at once haue fewer children of the age of fourteene yeares or thereabout, then ten, or more then sixteene; for of children under this age, no number can be prescribed or appointed. This measure or number is easily obserued and kept, by putting them that in fuller families be, aboue the number into families of smaller increase. But if chance be that in the whole Citty, the store increase aboue the just number, wherewith they fill vp the lacke of other Cities. But if so be that the multitude throughout the whole Iland, passe and exceed the due number, then they choose

The number of Citizens.

out of every City certaine Citizens, and build up a Towne under their owne lawes in the next Land where the inhabitants have much waſte and unoccupied ground, receiving alſo of the ſame Countrey people to them, if they will joyne and dwell with them. They thus joyning and dwelling together doe eaſily agree in one faſhion of living, and that to the great wealth of both the peoples: For they ſo bring the matter about by their Lawes, that the ground which before was neither good nor profitable for the one nor for the other, is now ſufficient and fruitfull enough for them both. But if the inhabitants of the land, will not dwell with them to be ordered by their lawes, then they drive them out of thoſe bounds which they have limited and appointed out for themſelves.

And if they reſiſt and rebell, then they make warre againſt them.

them. For they count this the moſt juſt cauſe of warre, when any people holdeth a piece of ground voyd and vacant to no good nor profitable uſe, keeping other from the uſe and poſſeſſion of it, which notwithſtanding by the law of Nature ought thereof to be nouriſhed and relieved. If any chance doe ſo much diminiſh the number of any of their Cities, that it cannot bee filled up againe, without the diminiſhing of the juſt number of the other Cities (which they ſay chanced but twice ſince the beginning of the Land, through a great peſtilent Plague) then they fulfill and make up the number with Citizens fetched out of their owne forraigne Townes, for they had rather ſuffer their forraigne townes to decay and periſh, then any City of their owne Iland to be diminiſhed. But now againe to the converſation of the Citizens among themſelves.

so might we well be discharged and eased of the idle company of serving-men.

The eldeſt (as I ſaid) ruleth the family. The wiues be Miniſters to their husbands, the children to their parents, and to be ſhort the younger to their elders. Every City is diuided into foure equall parts or quarters. In the midſt of every quarter, there is a market place of all manner of things. Thither the workes of every family be brought into certaine houſes. And every kind of thing is laid vp ſeuerall in barnes or ſtore houſes. From hence the father of every family or every houſholder fetcheth whatſoeuer he and his haue need eff, and carrieth it away with him without money, without exchange, without any gage, pawne, or pledge. For why ſhould any thing be denied vnto him? ſeeing there is abundance of all things, and that it is not to be feared, leaſt any man will aske more then he needeth. For why ſhould it be thought that

that

that man would aske more then enough, which is ſure never to lacke? Certainly in all kinds of living creatures, either feare of lacke doth cauſe coveteouſneſſe and ravine, or in man onely pride which counteth it a glorious thing to paſſe and excell other in the ſuperfluous and vaine oſtentation of things. The which kind of vice among the *Vtopians* can have no place. Next to the market places that I ſpeake off, ſtand meat markets: whether be brought not onely all ſorts of hearbes, and the fruits of trees, with bread, but alſo fiſh, and all manner of foure-footed Beaſts, and wild Fowle that be mans meate. But firſt the filthineſſe and ordure thereof, is cleane waſhed away in the running River without the City in places appointed meete for the ſame purpoſe. From thence the Beaſts be brought in killed, and cleane waſhed by the

The cauſe of coveteouſneſſe and extortion.

Of the slaughter of Beasts, we have learned manslaughter.

Filth and ordure bring the infection of Pestilence into Cities

hands of their Bondmen: for they permit not their free Citizens to accustome themselves to the killing of beasts, through the use whereof they thinke, clemencie the gentlest affection of our nature by little and little, to decay and perish. Neither they suffer any thing that is filthy, loathsome, or unlecally, to be brought into the City, lest the ayre by stench thereof infected and corrupt, should cause Pestilent diseases. Moreover, every Street hath certaine great large hals set in equall distance one from another, every one knowne by a proverall name. In these hals dwell the Syphogrants. And to every one of the same halles, be appointed thirty families, on either side fifteene. The stewards of every hall, at a certaine houre come into the meat markets, where they receive meate according to the number of their hals.

But

But first and chiefely of all, respect is had to the sicke, that be cured in the hospitals. For in the circuit of the City, a little without the walls, they have foure Hospitals, so big, so wide, so ample, and so large, that they may seeme foure little Townes, which were devised of that bignesse, partly to the intent the sick be they never so many in number, should not lye too throng or strait, and therefore uneasily, and incommodiously: and partly that they which were taken and holden with contagious diseases, such as be wont by infection to creepe from one to another, might be laid a farre from the company of the residue.

Care, diligence and attendance about the sicke,

These Hospitals be so well appointed, and with all things necessary to health so furnished, and moreover so diligent attendance through the continuall presence of cunning Physitians is given, that though no man be sent thi-

ther againſt his will, yet notwithſtanding there is no ſicke perſon in all the City, that had not rather lye there then at home at his owne houſe. When the ſteward of the ſicke hath received ſuch meates as the Phyſitians haue preſcribed, then the beſt is equally divided among the halls according to the company of every one, ſaving there is had a reſpect to the Prince, the Biſhop, the Tranibores, and to Ambaſſadours and all ſtrangers, if there be any, which be very few and ſeldome. But they alſo when they be there, haue certaine ſeverall houſes appointed and prepared for them. To theſe halls at the ſet houres of dinner and ſupper, commeth all the whole Syphograntie or Ward, warned by the noiſe of a brazen Trumpet: except ſuch as be ſicke in the Hoſpitals, or elſe in their owne houſes.

How-

Howbeit, no man is prohibited or forbid, or after the halls be ſerved to fetch home meate out of the Market to his owne houſe; for they know that no man will doe it without a cauſe reaſonable. For though no man be prohibited to dine at home, yet no man doth it willingly: becauſe it is counted a point of ſmall honeſty. And alſo it were a folly to take the paine to dreſſe a bad dinner at home, when they may be welcome to good and fine fare ſo nigh hand at the hall.

Everyman is at his liberty, ſo that nothing is done by compulſion.

In this hall, all vile ſervice, and all ſlavery, with all labourſome toyle, and drudgery, and baſe buſineſſe, is done by bondmen. But the women of every family by courſe have the office and charge of cookery for ſeething and dreſſing the meate, and ordering all things thereto belonging. They ſit at three tables or more, according to the

Women both dreſſe and ſerve the meat.

number of their company. The men sit vpon the Bench next the wall, and the women against them on the other side of the table, and if any sudden evill should chance to them, as many times happeneth to women with child, they may rise without trouble or disturbance of any body, and goe thence into the nursery. The Nurses sit severall alone with their young sucklings, in a certaine parlour appointed and deputed to the same purpose, never without fire and cleane water, nor yet without cradles, that when they will they may lay downe the young Infants, and at their pleasure take them out of their swathing cloathes, and hold them to the fire, and refresh them with play. Every mother is nurse to her owne child, vnlesse either death, or sicknesse be the let. When that chanceth, the wiues of the *Siphograntes* quickly provide a Nurse. And that is not hard to

Nurses.

be

be done. For they that can doe it, proffer themſelves to no ſervice ſo gladly as to that. Becauſe that there this kind of peece is much praiſed: and the child that is nouriſhed, ever after, taketh his nurſe for his owne naturall mother. Alſo among the nurſes, ſit all the children that be under the age of fiue yeares. All the other children of both kinds, as well boyes as girles, that be under the age of marriage, doe either ſerve at the tables, or elſe if they be too young thereto, yet they ſtand by with marvailous ſilence. That which is given to them from the table they eate, and other ſeverall dinner time they have none. The *Syphogrant* and his wife ſit in the midſt of the high Table, for as much as that is counted the honourableſt place, and becauſe from thence all the whole company is in their ſight. For that table ſtandeth over thwart the over end of the Hall. To them be joyned

Nothing ſooner provoketh men to well doing then praiſe and commendation.

The education of yong children.

joyned two of the ancienteſt and eldeſt. For at every table they ſit foure at a meſſe. But if there be a Church ſtanding in that Syphogranty, or Ward, then the Prieſt and his wife ſitteth with the Syphogrant, as chiefe in the company. On both ſides of them ſit young men, and next unto them againe, old men. And thus throughout all the houſe, equall of age be ſet together, and yet be mixt and matched with unequall ages.

The young mixed with their elders.

This they ſay, was ordeined, to the intent that the ſage gravity and reverence of the elders ſhould keepe the yongers from wanton licence of words and behaviour. For as much as nothing can be ſo ſecretly ſpoken or done at the table, but either they that ſit on the one ſide or on the other, muſt needs perceive it. The diſhes be not ſet downe in order from the firſt place, but all the old men (whoſe pla-

Old men regarded and reverenced.

ces

ces be marked with ſome ſpeciall token to be knowné) be firſt ſerved of their meate, and then the reſidue equally. The old men, divide their dainties as they thinke beſt to the younger on each ſide of them. Thus the elders be not defrauded of their due honour, and nevertheleſſe equall commodity commeth to every one. They begin every dinner and ſupper of reading ſomthing that pertaineth to good manners and vertue. But it is ſhort, becauſe no man ſhall be grieved therewith. Hereof the elders take occaſion of honeſt communication, but neither ſad nor unpleaſant. Howbeit they doe not ſpend all the whole dinner time themſelves, with long and tedious talke, but they gladly heare alſo the young men: yea, and purpoſely provoke them to talke, to the intent that they may have a proofe of every mans wit, and roward-

This uſe adaies is obſerved in our Vniverſity, Talke at Table.

neſſe

nesse, or disposition to vertue, which commonly in the liberty of feasting doth shew and vtter it selfe. Their dinners be very short but their suppers be somewhat longer, because that after dinner followeth labour, after supper, sleepe and naturall rest, which they thinke to be of more strength and efficacy to wholsome and healthfull digestion. No supper is passed without Musicke. Nor their banquets want no conceits, nor junkets. They burne sweet gummes and spices or perfumes, and pleasant smels, and sprinckle about sweet ointments and waters, yea, they have nothing undone that maketh for the cherishing of the company. For they be much enclined to this opinion: to thinke no kind of pleasure forbidden, whereof commeth no harme. Thus therefore, and after this sort they live together in the City, but in the Countrey they that dwell alone farre

This is repugnant to the opinion of our Physitians. Musicke at the Table.

Pleasure without harme, commendable.

farre from any neighbours, doe dine at home in their owne houſes: For no family there lacketh any victuals, as from whom commeth all that the Citizens eat and liue by.

Of their journying or trauelling abroad, with diuers other matters cunningly reaſoned, and wittily diſcuſſed.

BVt if any be deſirous to viſite either their friends dwelling in another City, or to ſee the place it ſelfe, they eaſily obtaine licence of the *Syphogrants* and *Tranibores*, vnleſſe there be ſome profitable let. No man goeth out alone but a company is ſent forth togither with their Princes letters, who doe teſtifie that they have licence to go that journey, and preſcribeth alſo the day of their returne.

They

They haue a Waine given them, with a common bondman, which driveth the oxen, and taketh charge of them. But vnleſſe they haue Women in their Company, they ſend home the waine againe, as an impediment and let. And though they carry nothing forth with them, yet in all their journey they lacke nothing. For whereſoever they come, they be at home. If they tary in a place longer then one day, then there every one of them falleth to his owne occupation, and be very gently entertained of the workemen and companies of the ſame crafts. If any man of his owne head and without leaue, walke out of his precinct and bounds, take without the Princes letters, he is brought againe for a fugitive, or a run-away with great ſhame and rebuke, and is ſharply puniſhed. If he be taken in that fault againe, he is puniſhed with bondage. If any be deſirous to

walke abroad into the fields, or into the Countrey that belongeth to the ſame City that hee dwelleth in, obtaining the good will of his Father, and the conſent of his Wife, he is not prohibited. But into what part of the Countrey ſoever he commeth, he hath no meat given him untill he have wrought out his forenoones task, or diſpatched ſo much worke, as there is wont to be wrought before ſupper. Obſerving this law and condition, he may goe whither he will within the bounds of his owne City. For hee ſhall be no leſſe profitable to the City, then if he were within it. Now you ſee how little liberty they have to loyter: how they can haue no cloake or pretence to Idleneſſe. There be neither wine tauerns, nor alehouſes, nor ſtewes, nor any occaſion of vice or wickedneſſe, no lurking corners, no places of wicked counſailes or

O holy commonwealth and of Chriſtians to be followed.

an vnlawfull assemblies, but they be in the present sight, and vnder the eyes of every man. So that of necessity they must either apply their accustomed labours, or else recreate themselves with honest and laudable pastimes.

Equality is the cause that every man hath enough.

This fashion and trade of life, being vsed among the people, it cannot be chosen, but that they must of necessity have store and plenty of all things. And seeing they be all thereof partners equally, therefore can no man there be poore or needy. In the counsell of *Amaurote*, whether as I said, every City sendeth three men a peece yearely, it soon as it is perfectly knowne of what things there is in every place plenty, and againe what things be scant in any place, incontinent the lacke of the one, is performed and filled vp with the abundance of the other. And this they doe freely without any benefit, talking nothing againe

of

of them, to whom the things is giuen, but those Cities that haue giuen of their store to any other City, that lacketh, requiring nothing againe of the same City, doe take such things as they lack of another City, to the which they gaue nothing. So the whole Iland is as it were one family or houshold. But when they haue made sufficient prouision of store for themselues (which they thinke not done, vntill they haue prouided for two yeares following, because of the vncertainty of the next years proofe) then of those things, whereof they haue abundance, they carry forth into other Countries great plenty: as Grayne, honey, wooll, flaxe, wood, madder, purple died felles, waxe, tallow, leather, and liuing Beasts. And the seauenth part of all these things they giue franckly and freely to the poore of that Country. The residue they

A common wealth is nothing else but a great houshold.

they ſell at a reaſonable and meane price. By this meanes of traffique or marchandiſe, they bring into their owne countrey; not onely great plenty of gold and ſilver, but alſo all ſuch things as they lacke at home, which is almoſt nothing but Iron. And by reaſon they haue long vſed this trade, now they haue more abundance of theſe things, then any man will beleeue.

In all things and aboue all things, to the community they haue an eye.

Now therefore they care not whether they ſell for ready money, or elſe upon truſt to be paid at a day, and to haue the moſt part in debts. But in ſo doing they neuer follow the credence of priuate men: but the aſſurance or warrantiſe, of the whole City, by inſtruments and writings made in that behalfe accordingly. When the day of payment is come and expired, the City gathereth up the debt of the priuate debtors, and putteth it into

into the common boxe, and ſo long hath the uſe and profit of it, untill the *Vtopians* their creditors demand it. The moſt part of it, they never aske. For that thing which is to them is no profit to take it from other, to whom it is profitable, they think it no right nor conſcience. But if the caſe ſo ſtand, that they muſt lend part of that money to another people, then they require their debt: or when they have warre. For the which purpoſe onely, they keepe at home all the treaſure which they have, to be holpen and ſuccoured by it either in extreame jeopardies, or in ſuddaine dangers. But eſpecially and chiefly to hire therewith, and that for unreaſonable great wages, ſtrange Soldiers. For they had rather put Strangers in jeopardy, then their owne Country-men: knowing that for money enough, their enemies themſelves many times may

By what policy money may be in leſſe eſtimation. It is better either with money or by policy to avoid warre then with much loſſe of mans blood to fight.

may be bought and ſold, or elſe through reaſon be ſet together by the eares, among themſelves. For this cauſe they keepe an ineſtimable treaſure. But yet not as a treaſure: But ſo they haue it, and vſe it, as in good faith I am aſhamed to ſhew: fearing that my wordes ſhall not bee beleeued. And this I haue more cauſe to feare, for that I know how difficulty and hardly I my ſelfe would haue beleeued another man telling the ſame, if I had not preſently ſeene it with mine eyes.

O ſine wit.

For it muſt needes be, that how far a thing is diſſonant and diſagreeing, from the guiſe & trade of the heavers, ſo farre ſhall it be out of their beleefe. Howbeit, a wiſe and indifferent eſteemer of things, will not greatly meruaile perchance, ſeeing all their other lawes and cuſtomes doe ſo much differ from ours, if the vſe alſo of gold and ſilver among them be applyed,

applied, rather to their owne fashions, then to ours. I meane in that they occupy not money themselves, but keepe it for that chance, which as it may happen, so it may be, that it shall never come to passe. In the mean time, gold and silver, whereof money is made, they doe so vse, as none of them doth more esteeme it, then the very nature of the thing deserveth.

Gold worse then yron as touching the necessary vse thereof.

And then who doth not plainly see, how farre it is vnder Iron: as without the which men can no better liue then without fire and water. Whereas to gold and silver, nature hath given no vse, that we may not well lacke: if that the folly of men had not set it in higher estimation for the rarenesse sake. But of the contrary part, nature as a most tender and louing mother, hath placed the best and necessary things open abroad: as the ayre, the water, and the earth it selfe. And hath

hath remooved and hid farthest from vs vaine and vnprofitable things. Therefore if these metals, among them should be fast locked vp in some Tower, it might be suspected, that the Prince and the Counsell (as the people is ever foolishly imagining) intended by some subtelty to deceiue the Commons, and to take some profit of it to themselves. Furthermore if they should make thereof plate, and such other finely & cunningly wrought stuffe, if at any time they should have occasion to breake it, and melt it againe, therewith to pay their souldiours wages, they see and perceiue very well, that men would be loth to part from those things, that they once began to have pleasure and delight in. To remedy all this they have found out a means, wch as it is agreable to all their other lawes and customes, so it is from ours, where gold is so much set by, and so diligently

ligently kept, very farre diſcripant and repugnant: and therefore uncredible, but only to them that be wiſe. For whereas they eate and drinke in earthen and glaſſe veſſels, which indeed be curiouſly and properly made, and yet be of very ſmall value: of gold and ſilver, they make chamber-pots, and other veſſels that ſerve for moſt vile vſes, not only in their common hals, but in every mans private houſe. Furthermore of the ſame mettals they make great chaines, fetters, and gyues, wherein they tie their bond-men.

O wonderfull contumely of gold.

Finally, whoſoever for any offence be infamed, by their eares, hang rings of gold: vpon their fingers they weare rings of gold: and about their necke chaines of gold: & in concluſion their heads be tied with gold. Thus by all meanes poſſible they procure to have gold and ſilver among them in reproach and infamie.

Gold the reproachfull badge of infamed perſons.

And theſe mettals, which other Nations doe as grievouſly and ſorrowfully foregoe, as in a manner their owne lives: if they ſhould altogether at once be taken from the *Vtopians*, no man there would thinke that he had loſt the worth of one farthing. They gather alſo pearles by the ſea ſide, and Diamonds and Carbuncles upon certaine Rockes, and yet they ſeeke not for them: but by chance finding them, they cut and poliſh them. And therewith they deck their young Infants. Which like as in the firſt yeares of their childe hood, they make much, and be fond and proud of ſuch ornaments, ſo when they be a little more growne in yeares and diſcretion, perceiue that none but children doe weare ſuch toyes and trifles: they lay them away even of their owne ſhamefaſtneſſe, without any bidding of their parents: even as our children, when they

Gemmes and precious ſtones, toyes for yong children to play withall.

they waxe bigge, doe caſt away nuttes, brouches, and puppets. Therefore theſe lawes and cuſtomes, which be ſo far different from all other nations, how divers fantaſies alſo and minds they doe cauſe, did I never ſo plainly perceiue in the Ambaſſadours of the *Anemolians*.

A very pleaſant tale.

Theſe Ambaſſadours came to *Amaurote*, whiles I was there. And becauſe they came to intreate of great and weighty matters, thoſe three Citizens a piece out of every City, were come thither before them. But all the Ambaſſadours of the next Countries, which had beene there before, and knew the faſhions and manners of the *Vtopians*, among whom they perceived no honour given to ſumptuous Apparell, ſilkes to be contemned, gold alſo to be infamed and reproachfull, were wont to come thither in very homely and ſimple array. But the *Anemolians*

molians becauſe they dwell farre thence, and had very little acquaintance with them, hearing that they were all apparelled alike, and that very rudely and homely, thinking them not to have the things which they did not weare: being therefore more proud, then wiſe, determined in the gorgiouſneſſe of their apparell to preſent very Gods, and with the bright ſhining and gliſtering of their gay cloathing to dazell the eyes of the ſilly poore *Vtopians*.

So there came in foure Ambaſſadours with one hundred ſervants, all apparelled in changeable colours: the moſt of them in ſilkes: the Ambaſſadours themſelves (for at heme in their owne Country they were noble men) in cloath of gold, with great chaines of gold, with gold hanging at their eares, with gold rings vpon their fingers, with brouches and aglets of gold vpō their caps, which

which gliſtered full of pearles and precious ſtones: to be ſhort trimmed and adorned with all thoſe things, which among the *Vtopians* were either the puniſhment of bondmen, or the reproach of infamed perſons, or elſe trifles for young children to play withall. Therefore it would have done a man good at his heart, to have ſeene how proudly they diſplayed their Peacocks feathers, how much they made of their painted ſheathes, and how loftily they ſet forth and advanced themſelves, when they compared their gallant apparell, with the poore raiment of the *Vtopians*. For all the people were ſwarmed forth into the ſtreets.

And on the other ſide, it was no leſſe pleaſure to conſider how much they were deceived, and how farre they miſſed of their purpoſe being contrary wayes taken, then they thought they

ſhould have beene. For ſo the eyes of all the *Vtopians*, except very few, which had beene in other Countries, for ſome reaſonable cauſe, all that gorgiouſnetſe of apparell, ſeemed ſhamefull and reproachfull. Inſomuch that they moſt reverently ſalured the vileſt and moſt abiect of them for Lords: judged them by their wearing of Golden chaines to be Bondmen. Yea you ſhould have fine Children alſo, that had caſt away their Pearles and precious ſtones, when they ſaw the like ſticking upon the Ambaſſadors caps: digge and puſh their mothers under the ſides, ſaying thus to them. Looke mother how great a lubber doth yet weare pearles and precious ſtones, as though he were a little child againe.

O witty head.

But the Mother, yea, and that alſo in good earneſt: Peace ſonne, ſaith ſhee: I thinke he be ſome of the Ambaſſadours fooles.

fooles. Some found fault at their Golden chaynes, as to no uſe nor purpoſe, being ſo ſmall and weake, that a bondman might eaſily breake them, and againe ſo wide and large, that when it pleaſed him, he might caſt them off, and runne away at liberty whither he would.

But when the Ambaſſadours had been there a day or two, and ſaw ſo great abundance of Gold ſo lightly eſteemed, yea in no leſſe reproach, then it was with them in honour: and beſides that, more gold in the Chaines and gyves of one fugitive bondman, then all the coſtly ornaments of them three was worth: they began to abate their courage, and for very ſhame laid away all that gorgious array, whereof they were ſo proud. And ſpecially when they had talked familiarly with the *Vtopians*, and had learned all their faſhions and opinions. For they marvell

Doubtfull he calleth it, either in consideration and respect of counterfet stones, or else he calleth doubtfull every little worth.

that any men be so fooliſh, as to have delight and pleaſure in the doubtfull gliſtering of a little trifling ſtone, which may behold any of the ſtarres, or elſe the ſunne it ſelfe.

Or that any man is ſo mad, as to count himſelfe the nobler for the ſmaller or finer thred of wool, which ſelfe-ſame wool (be it now never ſo fine ſpunne threed) a ſheepe did once weare: and yet was ſhe all that time no other thing then a ſheepe. They mervaile alſo that gold, which of the owne nature, is a thing ſo unprofitable, is now among all people in ſo high eſtimation, that man himſelfe, by whom yea and for the vſe of whom it is ſo much ſet by, is in much leſſe eſtimation, then the gold it ſelfe. Inſomuch that a lumpiſh block-head churle, and which hath no more wit then an Aſſe, yea and as full of naughtineſſe, as of folly, ſhall have nevertheleſſe many wiſe

A true ſaying and a witty.

and

and good men in ſubjection and bondage, onely for this, becauſe he hath a great heape of gold.

Which if it ſhould be taken from him by any fortune, or by ſome ſubtill wile and cautle of the Law, (which no leſſe then fortune doth both raiſe vp the low, and plucke down the high) and be given to the moſt vile ſlave and abject drivell of all his houſhold, then ſhortly after he ſhall goe into the ſervice of his ſervant, as an augmentation, or overplus beſide his money.

But they much more mervaile at and deteſt the madneſſe of them, which to thoſe rich men, in whoſe debt and danger they be not, doe give almoſt divine honours, for none other conſideration, but becauſe they be rich: and yet knowing them to be ſuch niggiſh penny-fathers, that they be ſure as long as they live, not the worth of

How much more wit is in the heds of the Vtopians, then of the common ſort of Chriſtians.

one farthing of that heape of Gold, shall come to them. These and such like opinions have they conceived, partly by education, being brought vp in that Common-wealth, whose lawes and customes be farre different from those kinds of folly, and partly by good literature and learning. For though there be not many in every City, which be exempt and discharged of all other labours, and appointed onely to learning, that is to say: such in whom even from their very child-hood they have perceived a singuler towardnesse, a fine wit, and a mind apt to good learning: yet all in their child-hood be instructed in learning. And the better part of the people, both men and women throughout all their whole life, doe bestow in learning those spare houres, which we said they have vacant from bodily labours. They be taught learning in their own native tongue.

For

For it is both copious in words, and alſo pleaſant to the eare: and for the vtterance of a mans mind very perfect and ſure. The moſt part of all that ſide of the world, vſeth the ſame language, ſaving that among the *Vtopians* it is fineſt and pureſt, and according to the diverſity of the Countries, it is diverſly altered. Of all theſe Phyloſophers, whoſe names be here famous in this part of the world to vs knowne, before our comming thither, not as much as the fame of any of them was come among them. And yet in Muſique, Logique, Arythmetique, and Geometrie, they have found out in a manner all that our ancient Philoſophers have taught. But as they in all things be almoſt equall to our old and ancient Clarkes; ſo our new Logicians in ſubtill inventions, have farre paſſed and gone beyond them.

The ſtudies among the Vtopians.

Muſique, Logique, Arithmetique, Geometrie.

For

In this place it seemeth to be a nipping taunt

For they have not deviſed one of all thoſe rules, of reſtrictions, amplifications, very wittily invented in the ſmall Logicals, which heere our Children in every place doe learne. Furthermore, they were never yet able to finde out the ſecond inventions: Inſomuch that none of them could ever ſee man himſelfe in common, as they call him, though he be (as you know) bigger then ever was any Giant, yea, and pointed to of us even with our finger. But they be in the courſe of the Starres, and the movings of the heavenly ſpheares very expert and cunning. They have alſo wittily excogitated and deviſed Inſtruments of divers faſhions: wherein is exactly comprehended and contained the movings and ſituations of the Sunne, the Moone, and of all the other Starres, which appeare in their Horizon. But as for the amities and diſſentions of the Pla-

Aſtronomy

Yet among Chriſtians this geere is highly eſteemed in theſe dayes.

Planets, and all that deceitfull divination of the Starres, they never as much as dreamed thereof. Raines, windes, and other courſes of tempeſts, they know before by certaine tokens, which they have learned by long uſe and obſervation. But of the cauſes of all theſe things, and of the Ebbing and flowing, and ſaltneſſe of the Sea, and finally of the originall beginning, and nature of heaven and of the world, they hold partly the ſame opinions that our old Philoſophers hold, and partly as our Philoſophers vary among themſelves, ſo they alſo, whiles they bring new reaſons of things, doe diſagree from all them, and yet among themſelves in all points they doe not accord.

Naturall Philoſophy is a knowledge moſt uncertaine.

Moral philoſophie.

In that Philoſophy, which which intreateth of manners and vertue, their reaſons and opinions agree with ours. They diſpute of the good qualities of the Soule,

of

of the body, and of fortune. And whether the name of goodneſſe may be applied to all theſe, or onely to the endowments and guifts of the ſoule. They reaſon of vertue and pleaſure. But the chiefe and principall queſtion is in what thing be it one or more the felicity of man conſiſteth. But in this point they ſeeme almoſt too much given and inclined to the opinion of them, which defend pleaſure, wherein they determine either all or the chiefeſt part of mans felicity to reſt. And (which is more to be marvailed at) the defence of this ſo dainty and delicate an opinion they fetch even from their graue, ſharpe, bitter, and rigorous religion. For they never diſpute of felicity or bleſſedneſſe, but they joyne unto the reaſons of Philoſophy certaine principles taken out of religion: without the which, to the inveſtigation of true felicity, they thinke reaſon of

The ends of good things.

The Utopians hold opinion that felicity conſiſteth in honeſt pleaſure.

The theologie of the Utopians.

of it ſelfe weake and unperfect. Thoſe principles be theſe and ſuch like. That the ſoule is immortall: and by the bountifull goodneſſe of GOD ordained to felicity. That to our vertues and good deeds, rewards be appointed after this life, and to our evill deeds puniſhments. Though theſe be pertaining to religion, yet they thinke it meet that they ſhould be beleeved and granted by proves of reaſon. But if theſe principles were condemned and diſanulled, then without any delay, they pronounce no man to be ſo fooliſh, which would not doe all his diligence and endevor to obtaine pleaſure be it right or wrong, only avoiding this inconvenience, that the leſſe pleaſure ſhould not be a let or hinderance to the bigger: or that he laboured not for that pleaſure, which would bring after it diſpleaſure, griefe, and ſorrow.

The immortality of the ſoule, wherof theſe dotes certaine chriſtians be doubtfull.

For they judge it extreame mad-

As every pleaſure ought to be imbraced, ſo griefe is not to be purſued but for vertues ſake.

madneſſe to follow ſharpe and painfull vertue, and not onely to baniſh the pleaſure of life, but alſo willingly to ſuffer griefe, without any hope of profit thereof enſuing. For what profit can there be, if a man, when he hath paſſed over all his life unpleaſantly, that is to ſay, miſerably, ſhall have no reward after his death? But now ſir, they thinke not felicity to reſt in all pleaſure, but onely in that pleaſure that is good and honeſt, and that hereto, as to perfect bleſſedneſſe our nature is allured and drawne even of vertue, whereto onely they that be of the contrary opinion doe attribute felicity. For they define vertue to be life ordered according to Nature, and that we be hereunto ordained of God. And that he doth follow the courſe of nature, which in deſiring and refuſing things is ruled by reaſon. Furthermore, the reaſon doth chiefly and principally kindle in men the love

In this definition of vertue they agree with the Stoycians.

The worke and effect of reaſon in man.

and veneration of the divine Majeſty. Of whoſe goodneſſe it is that we be, and that wee be in poſſibility to attaine felicity. And that ſecondarily it both ſtirreth and provoketh us to lead our life out of care in joy and mirth; and alſo moveth us to helpe and further all other in reſpect of the ſociety of nature to obtaine and enjoy the ſame. For there was never man ſo earneſt and painfull a follower of vertue and hater of pleaſure, that would ſo enjoyne your labours, watchings, and faſtings, but hee would alſo exhort you to eaſe, lighten, relieve to your power, the lacke and miſery of others, praiſing the ſame as a deed of humanity and pitty. Then if it be a point of humanity, for man to bring health and comfort to man, and ſpecially (which is a vertue moſt peculiarly belonging to man) to mitigate and aſſwage the griefe of others, and by taking from

from them the ſorrow and heavineſſe of life to reſtore them to joy, that is to ſay to pleaſure: which may it not then be ſaid, that nature doth provoke every man to doe the ſame to himſelfe? For a joyfull life, that is to ſay, a pleaſant life is either evill: and if it be ſo, then thou ſhouldeſt not onely helpe no man thereto, but rather as much as in thee lyeth, withdraw all men from it, as noyſome and hurtfull, or elſe if thou not onely muſt, but alſo of duty art bound to procure it to others? why not chiefly to thy ſelfe? To whom thou art bound to ſhew as much favour and gentleneſſe as to other. For when nature biddeth thee to be good and gentle to other, ſhe commandeth thee not to be cruell and ungentle to thy ſelfe. Therefore even very nature (ſay they) preſcribeth vs to a joyfull life, that is to ſay, pleaſure as the end of all our operations. And they define

But now a dales ſome there be that willingly procure unto themſelues painefull griefe, as though therein reſted ſome high point of religion whereas rather the religiouſly diſpoſed perſon, if they happen to him either by chance or elſe by naturall neceſſity ought pa-

define vertue to be life ordered according to the preſcript of nature. But in that, that nature doth allure and provoke men one to helpe another to liue merrily (which ſurely ſhe doth not without a good cauſe: for no man is farre aboue the lot of mans ſtate, or condition, that nature doth carke and care for him onely, which equally fauoureth all, that he comprehended vnder the communion of one ſhape, forme and faſhion) verily ſhe commandeth them to vſe diligent circumſpection, that thou doe not ſeeke for thine owne commodities, that thou procure others incommodities. Wherefore their opinion is, that not onely couenants and bargaines made among priuate men, ought to be well and faithfully followed, obſerued, and kept but alſo common lawes, which either a good Prince hath juſtly publiſhed, or elſe the people neither oppreſſed with tyrannie, neither

tiently to receiue and ſuffer them.

Bargaines and lawes.

ther deceived by fraud and guile, hath by their common conſent conſtituted and ratified, concerning the petition of the commodity of life, that is to ſay, the matter of pleaſure.

Theſe lawes not offended, it is wiſdome, that thou looke to thine owne wealth. And doe the ſame for the common wealth is no leſſe then thy duty, if thou beareſt any reverent love, or any naturall zeale and affection to thy native Country. But to goe about to let another man of his pleaſure, whiles thou procureſt thine owne, that is open wrong. Contrariwiſe, to with-draw ſomething from thy ſelfe to giue to other, that is a point of humanity, and gentleneſſe: which never taketh away ſo much commodity, as it bringeth againe. For it is recompenced with the returne of benefits, and the conſcience of the good deed, with the remembrance of the thank-

thankfull love and benevolence of them, to whom thou haſt done it, doth bring more pleaſure to thy mind, then that which thou haſt with-holden from thy ſelfe could have brought to thy body. Finally (which to a godly diſpoſed and a religious mind is eaſie to be perſwaded) God recompenſeth the gift of a ſhort and ſmall pleaſure with great and everlaſting joy.

The mutuall recourſe of kindneſſe.

Therefore the matter diligently weighed, and conſidered, thus they thinke, that all our actions, and in them the vertues themſelves, be referred at the laſt to pleaſure, as their end and felicity. Pleaſure they call every motion, and ſtate of the body or mind, wherein man hath naturally delectation. Appetite they joyne to nature, and that not without a good cauſe. For like as, not onely the ſenſes, but alſo right reaſon coveteth whatſoever is naturally pleaſant, ſo that

The definition of pleaſure.

that it may be gotten without wrong or injury, not letting or debarring a greater pleaſure, nor cauſing painfull labour, even ſo thoſe things that men, by vaine imagination doe faine againſt nature to be pleaſant (as though it lay in their power to change the things, as they doe the names of things) all ſuch pleaſures they beleeve to be of ſo ſmall helpe and furtherance to felicity, that they count them a great let and hinderance. Becauſe that in whom they have once taken place, all his mind they poſſeſſe with a falſe opinion of pleaſure. So that there is no place left for true and naturall delectations.

Falſe and counterfeit pleaſures.

For there be many things, which of their owne nature containe no pleaſantneſſe: yea the moſt part of them much griefe and ſorrow. And yet through the perverſe and malicious flickering inticements of lewd and honeſt deſires, be taken not onely for

ſpeciall

ſpeciall and ſoveraigne pleaſures, but alſo be counted among the chiefe cauſes of life. In this counterfeit kind of pleaſure, they put them that I ſpake of before. Which the better gownes they have on, the better men they thinke themſelves. In the which thing, they doe twiſe erre. For they be no leſſe deceived, in that they thinke their gowne the better then they be, in that they thinke themſelves the better.

The errour o' them that eſteeme themſelues the more for apparels ſake.

For if you conſider the profitable uſe of the garment, why ſhould woolle of a finer ſpunne threed, be thought better, then the woolle of a courſe ſpunne threed? Yet they, as though the one did paſſe the other by nature, and not by their miſtaking, advance themſelves, and thinke the price of their owne perſons thereby greatly increaſed. And therefore the honor, which in a courſe gowne they durſt not have looked for, they require, as it were of duty,

Foolish honour.

duty, for their finer gownes ſake. And if they be paſſed without reverence, they take it diſpleaſantly and diſdainfully. And againe, is it not alike madneſſe to take a pride in vaine and unprofitable honours? For what naturall or true pleaſure doeſt thou take of another mans bare head, or bowed knees; Will this eaſe the paine of thy knees, or remedy the phrenſie of thy head? In this image of counterfeit pleaſure, they be of marvailous madneſſe, which for the opinion of Nobility, rejoyce much in their owne conceit. Becauſe it was their fortune to come of ſuch anceſtors, whoſe ſtocke of long time had beene counted rich (for now nobility is nothing elſe) ſpecially rich in lands. And though their Anceſtors left them not one foot of land, or elſe they themſelves have piſſed it againſt the walls, yet they thinke themſelves nor the leſſe noble therefore

fore of one haire. In this number also they count them that take pleasure and delight (as I said) in gemmes and precious stones, and thinke themselues almost gods, if they chance to get an excellent one specially of that kind, wch in that time of their own Countreymen, is had in highest estimation.

Pleasure in precious stones most foolish.

For one kind of stone keepeth not his price still in all countries, and at all times. Nor they buy them not, but taken out of the gold, and bare, no nor so neither, untill they haue made the seller to sweare, that hee will warrant and assure it to be a true stone and no counterfeit gemme. Such care they take least a counterfeit stone should deceiue their eyes in stead of a right stone. But why shouldest thou not take even as much pleasure in beholding a counterfeit stone, which thine eye cannot discerne from a right stone? They should both

The opinion and fancie of people doth augment and diminish the price and estimation of precious stones.

be of like value to thee, even as to the blind man.

What ſhall I ſay of them, that keepe ſuperfluous riches, to take deleſtation onely in the beholding, and not in the vſe or occupying thereof? Doe they take true pleaſure, or elſe be they deceived with falſe pleaſure? Or of them that be in a contrary vice, hiding the gold which they ſhall neither occupy, nor peradventure never ſee him more: And whiles they take care leaſt they ſhall leeſe, doe leeſe it indeede. For what is it elſe, when they hide it in the ground taking it both from their owne vſe, and perchance from all other mens alſo,? And yet thou, when thou haſt hid thy treaſure, as one out of all care, hopeſt for joy. The which treaſure, if it ſhould chance to bee ſtollen, and thou ignorant of the theft, ſhouldeſt dye twiane yeares after: all that ten yeares thou liuedſt after thy mo-

Hiders of Treaſure.

money was ſtollen, what matter was it to thee, whether it had beene taken away or elſe ſafe as thou lefteſt it? Truly both wayes like profit came to thee. To theſe ſo fooliſh pleaſures they joyne Dicers, whoſe madneſſe they know by heare-ſay, and not by uſe. Hunters alſo, & Hawkers.

For what pleaſure is there (ſay they) in caſting the Dice upon a table. Which thou haſt done ſo often, that if there were any pleaſure in it; yet the oft uſe might make thee weary thereof? Or what delight can there be, and not rather diſpleaſure in hearing the barking & howling of dogs? Or what greater pleaſure is there to be ſeen, when a Dog followeth an Hare, then when a Dog followeth a dogge? For one thing is done in both, that is to ſay, running, if thou haſt pleaſure therein. But if the hope of ſlaughter, and the expectation of tearing in peeces the Beaſt

Dice-play

Hunting and Hawking.

doth pleaſe thee: thou ſhouldeſt rather be moved with pitty to ſee a ſilly innocent Hare murdered of a dogge: the weake of the ſtronger, the fearefull of the fierce, the innocent of the cruell and unmercifull. Therefore all this exerciſe of hunting, as a thing unworthy to be vſed of Freemen, the *Vtopians* have rejected to their butchers, to the which craft (as we ſaid before) they appoint their bondmen. For they counte hunting the loweſt, the vileſt, and moſt abject part of butchery, and the other parts of it, more profitable, and more honeſt, as bringing much more commodity, in that they kill Beaſts onely for neceſſity.

Hunting the baſeſt part of butchery among the Vtopians, yet this is vſed in the exerciſe of moſt noble men.

Whereas the hunter ſeeketh nothing but pleaſure of the ſilly and wofull beaſts ſlaughter and murder. The which pleaſure in beholding death, they thinke doth riſe in the very

very Beasts, either of a cruell affection or mind, or else to be changed in continuance of time into cruelty, by long vse of so cruell a pleasure. These therefore and all such like, which be innumerable, though the common sort of people doth take them for pleasures, yet they seeing there is no naturall pleasantnesse in them, doe plainly determine them to haue no affinity with true and right pleasure. For as touching that they doe commonly moue the sence with delectation (which seemeth to be a worke of pleasure) this doth nothing diminish their opinion. For not the nature of the thing but their perverse and lewd custome is the cause hereof. Which causeth them to accept bitter or sower things for sweet things. Even as women with child in their vicias and corrupt tast, thinke pitch and tallow sweeter then honey. Howbeit no mans judge-

The kindnesse of true pleasure

ment depraved and corrupt, eyther by sickneſſe, or by custome, can change the nature of pleasure, more then it can doe the nature of other things. They make divers kinds of pleasures. For some they attribute to the Soule, and some to the body. To the soule they give intelligence, and that delication, that commeth of the contemplation of truth.

Hereunto is joyned the pleasant remembrance of the good life past. The pleasure of the body they divide into two parts. The first is, when delectation is sensible felt and perceived, which many times chanceth by the renuing and refreshing of those parts, which our naturall heate dryeth up. This commeth by meate and drinke. And sometimes whiles those things be expulsed, and voyded, whereof is in the body over great abundance. This pleasure is felt, when we doe

doe our naturall eaſement, or when we be doing the act of generation, or when the itching of any part is eaſed with rubbing or ſcratching. Sometimes pleaſure riſeth exhibiting to any member nothing that it deſireth, nor taking from it any paine that it feeleth, which nevertheleſſe tickleth and moveth our ſences with a certaine ſecret efficacie, but with a manifeſt motion turneth them to it. As is that which commeth of Muſicke. The ſecond part of bodily pleaſure they ſay, is that which conſiſteth and reſteth in the quiet and upright ſtate of the body. And that truly is every mans owne proper health, intermingled and diſturbed with no griefe. For this, if they be not letted nor aſſaulted with no griefe, is delectable of it ſelfe, though it be moved with no externall or outward pleaſure. For though it be not ſo plaine and manifeſt to the ſence, as the

Bodily health.

greedy luſt of eating & drinking yet nevertheleſſe, many take it for the chiefeſt pleaſure. All the *Vtopians* grant it to be a right ſoveraigne pleaſure, and as you would ſay the foundation and ground of all pleaſures, as which even alone is able to make the ſtate and condition of life delectable and pleaſant. And it being once taken away, there is no place left for any pleaſure. For to be without griefe not having health, that they call unſenſibility, and not pleaſure.

The *Vtopians* have long agoe rejected and condemned the opinion of them, which ſaid, that ſtedfaſt and quiet health, (for this queſtion alſo hath beene diligently debated among them) ought not therefore to be counted a pleaſure, becauſe they ſay it cannot be preſently and ſenſibly perceived and felt by ſome outward motion. But of the contrary part, now they agree almoſt all

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the wonted ſtrength, miniſtreth that pleaſure, whereby we be ſo refreſhed. Health therefore, which in the conflict is joyfull, ſhall it not be merry, when it hath gotten the victory? But as ſoone as it hath recovered the priſtinate ſtrength, which thing only in all the fight it coveted, ſhall it incontinent be aſtonied? Nor ſhall it not know nor imbrace the owne wealth and goodneſſe? For where it is ſaid, health cannot be felt, this they thinke is nothing true. For what man walking, ſay they, feeleth not himſelfe in health, but he that is not? Is there any man ſo poſſeſſed with ſtoniſh inſenſibility, or with lethargie, that is to ſay, the ſleeping ſickneſſe, that he will not graut health to be acceptable to him, and delectable? But what other things is delectation, then that which by another name is called pleaſure a They imbrace chiefly the pleaſures of the mind. For them

Delectations. The pleaſures of the mind.

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man take for his felicity, that man muſt needs grant, that then he ſhall be in moſt felicity, if he live that life, which is lead in continuall hunger, thirſt, itching, eating, drinking, ſcratching, and rubbing. The which life, how not onely foule and unhoneſt, but alſo how miſerable and wretched it is, who perceiveth not? Theſe doubtleſſe be the baſeſt pleaſures of all, as unpure and unperfect. For they never come but accompanied with their contrary griefes. As with the pleaſure of eating, is joyned hunger, and that after no very equall ſort. For of theſe two, the griefe is both the more vehement and alſo of longer continuance. For it beginneth before the pleaſure, and endeth not untill the pleaſure die with it. Wherefore ſuch pleaſures they thinke not greatly to be ſet by, but in that they be neceſſary. Howbeit they have delight alſo in theſe, and thank-

thankfully know
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with moſt pleaſa
allureth her child
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ſhould our life be,
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fully knowledge the ten-
e of mother Nature, which
most pleasant delectation
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essary vse whereof, they
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wretched and miserable
our life be, if these daily
of hunger and thirst could
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uch off. But those plea-
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The gifts of nature.

the concordant & diſcordant diſtances of ſounds and tunes) theſe pleaſures, I ſay, they accept and allow as certaine pleaſant rejoycings of life. But in all things this cautell they vſe, that a leſſe pleaſure hinder not a bigger, and that the pleaſure be no cauſe of diſpleaſure, which they thinke to follow of neceſſity, if the pleaſure be unhoneſt. But yet to deſpiſe the comelineſſe of beauty, to waſt the bodily ſtrength, to turne nimbleneſſe unto ſloathfulneſſe: to conſume and make feeble the body with faſting: to doe iniury to health, and to reject the pleaſant motions of nature, unleſſe a man neglect theſe commodities, whiles he doth with a fervent zeale procure the wealth of others, or the common profit, for the which pleaſure forborne, he is in hope of a greater pleaſure at Gods hand: elſe for a vaine ſhadow of vertue, for the wealth and profit of

of no man, to pu
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come to him: t
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madneſſe, and
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man, to punish himselfe, or
e intent he may be able cou-
usly to suffer adversity,
n perchance shall never
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e it a point of extreame
esse, and a token of a man
y minded towards him-
nd unkind towards nature,
e so disdaining to be in her
r, that he renounceth and
th all her benefits. This is
sentence and opinion of
e and pleasure. And they
ve that by mans reason
can be found truer then
unlesse any godlier be in-
into man from heaven.
ein whether they beleeve
r no, neither the time doth
us to discusse, neither it is
necessary. For we have ta-
pon vs to shew and declare
ores and ordinancies, and
o defend them. But this
I beleeve verily, howsoe-
ese decrees be, that there is
in

Marke this well.

in no place of the world, neither a more excellent people, neither a more flourishing Commonwealth. They be light and quicke of body, full of activity and nimblenesse, and of more strength then a man would judge them by their stature, which for al that is not too low. And though their soyle be not very fruitfull, nor their ayre very wholesome, yet against the ayre they so defend them with temperate diet, and so order and husband their ground with diligent travaile, that in no Countrey is greater increase and plenty of Corne and Cattle, nor mens bodies of longer life, and subject or apt to fewer diseases. There therefore a man may see well, and diligently exploited and furnished, not onely those things which husbandmen doe commonly in other Countries, as by craft and cunning to remedy the barrennesse of the ground, but also a whole Wood by

The wealth and description of the Vtopians.

by the hand
plucked vp by
place, and set
place. Where
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but of commod
wood and timb
er to the Sea,
the Cities. Fo
and businesse
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people be gentl
and fine witt
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quireth, able
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the hands of the people
cked vp by the rootes in one
ce, and ſet againe in another
ce. Wherein was had regard
consideration, not of plenty,
of commodious carriage, that
d and timber might be nigh-
the Sea, or the Rivers, or
Cities. For it is leſſe labour
buſineſſe to carry graine
by land then wood. The
le be gentle, merry, quicke
fine witted, delighting in
neſſe, and when need re-
eth, able to abide and ſuf-
much bodily labour. Elſe
be not greatly deſirous and
of it: but in the exerciſe
body of the mind they be
weary. When they had
me ſpeake of the Greeke
ture or learning (for in
e there was nothing that
ught they would greatly
beſides Hiſtories and Po-
hey made wonderfull ear-
nd importunate ſute unto
me

me that I would teach and instruct them in that tongue and learning. I began therefore to read unto them, at the first truly, more because I would not seeme to refuse the labour, then that I hoped that they would any thing profit therein. But when I had gone forward a little, I perceived incontinent by their diligence, that my labour should not be bestowed in vaine. For they began so easily to fashion their letters, so plainly to pronounce the words, so quickly to learne by heart, and so surely to rehearse the same, that I mervaile at it, saving that the most part of them were fitte, and chosen wits, and of ripe age, picked out of the company of the learned men, which not onely of their owne free and voluntary will, but also by the commandement of the Councell, undertooke to learne this language. Therefore in lesse then three yeares space, there

A wonderfull aptnesse to learning in the Utopians.

But now most blockheaded Asse, be set to learning, and most pregnant wits corrupt with pleasures.

was

s nothing in the Greeke
gue that they lacked. They
re able to read good Authors
hout any ſtay, if the booke
re not falſe. This kind of lear-
g, as I ſuppoſe, they tooke ſo
ch the ſooner, becauſe, it is
newhat alliant to them: For
inke that this Nation tooke
ir beginning of the Greekes,
auſe their ſpeech, which in
other points is not much un-
the Perſian tongue, keeping
ers ſignes and token of the
eke language in the names
heir Cities, and of their Ma-
rates. They have of me (for
en I was determined to enter
my fourth voyage, I caſt in-
he Ship in the ſtead of mer-
ndiſe a prety fardle of bookes,
uſe I intended to come a-
e rather never, then ſhortly)
have, I ſay of me, the moſt
of *Platoes* workes, more of
ſtotles, alſo *Theophraſtus* of
es, but in divers places (which

I am sory for) vnperfect. For whiles they were a Ship-boord, a Marmoset chanced vpon the booke, as it was negligently laid by, which wantonly playing therewith, plucked out certaine leaves and tore them in peeces. Of them that have written the Grammer, they have only *Lascaris*. For *Theodorus* I carried not with me, nor never a Dictionarie, but *Hesichius*, and *Dioscorides*. They set great store by *Plutarches* bookes. And they be delighted with *Lucianes* merry conceits and jeasts. Of the Poets they have *Aristophanes*, *Homer*, *Euripides*, and *Sophocles* in *Aldus* small print. Of the Historians they have *Thucididas*, *Herodotus*, and *Herodian*. Also my companion *Tricius Apinatus* carried with him Physicke bookes, certaine small workes of *Hippocrates*, and *Galens*, *Microtechne*. The which booke they have in great estimation:

on: For though there be almost
o nation under heaven that hath
ſe need of Phyſicke then they,
t thus notwithſtanding, Phy-
cke is no where in greater ho-
our. Becauſe they count the
nowledge of it among the god-
eſt, and moſt profitable parts of
hiloſophie. For whiles they
the helpe of this Philoſophy
arch out the ſecret myſteries of
ature, they thinke themſelves to
ceiue thereby not onely won-
rfull great pleaſure, but alſo to
taine great thanks and favour
the Author and maker thereof.
hom they thinke according to
e faſhion of other Artificers, to
ve ſet forth the marvalous
d gorgious frame of the world
r man, with great affection, in-
ntiuely to behold. Whom
ely he hath made of wit, and
pacity to conſider and un-
rſtand the excellency of
great a worke. And there-
e he beareth (ſay they)

Phiſicke highly regarded.

The contemplation of nature.

more

more good will and loue to the curious and diligent beholder, and viewer of his worke and marueilour at the ſame, then he doth to him, which like a very brute Beaſt without wit and reaſon, or as one without ſenſe or mooving, hath no regard to ſo great and ſo wonderfull a ſpectacle. The wits therefore of the *Vtopians* inured and exerciſed in learning, be marvailous quicke in the invention of feats, helping any thing to the advantage and wealth of life. Howbeit two feats they may thanke vs for. That is, the ſcience of Imprinting, and the craft of making Paper. And yet not onely vs, but chiefly and principally themſelves. For when we ſhewed to them *Aldus* his print in bookes of paper, & told them of the ſtuffe whereof paper is made, and of the feat of graving letters, ſpeaking ſomewhat more, then we could plainely declare (for there was none of vs, that

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Whoſoever
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that knew perfectly either the one or the other) they forthwith very wittily conjectured the thing. And whereas before, they wrote onely in skins, in barkes of Trees, and in reedes, now they have attempted to make Paper, and to imprint Letters. And though at the first it proved not all of the best, yet by often assaying the same, they shortly got the feare of both. And have so brought the matter about, that if they had copies of Greeke authors, they could lack no Bookes. But now they have no more, then I rehearsed before, saving that by printing of bookes, they have multiplied and increased the same into many thousands of Copies. Whosoever commeth thither to see the Land, being excellent in any gift of wit, or through much and long journeying, well experienced and seene in the knowledge of many Countries (for the which cause wee were very welcome

come to them) him they receive and entertaine wondrous gently and lovingly. For they have delight to heare what is done in every Land, howbeit very few Marchant men come thither.

For what should they bring thither, vnlesse it were yron, or else Gold and silver, which they had rather carry home againe? Also such things as are to be carried out of their land, they thinke it more wisedome to carry that geare forth themselues, then that other should come thither to fetch it, to the intent they may the better know the out lands on every side of them, and keepe in ure the feate and knowledge of sailing.

Of

Of Bond-men, Sicke persons, Wedlocke, and diverse other matters.

THey neither make Bondmen of prisoners taken in Battaile, unlesse it be in battaile that they fought themselves, nor of bondmens children; nor to be short, of any such as they can get out of forraigne Countries, though he were yet there a bondman. But either such, as among themselves for heynous offences be punished bondage, or else such, as in the Cities of other Lands for great trespasses be condemned to death. And of this sort of bondmen they have most store.

A marvailous equity of this nation.

For many of them they bring home sometimes, paying very little for them, yea most commonly getting them for gramercy. These sorts of bondmen they keep not only in continuall work and labour, but also in bands.

But their owne men they handle hardeſt, whom they iudge more deſperate, and to haue deſerued greater puniſhment, becauſe they being ſo godly brought vp to vertue in ſo excellent a common wealth, could not for all that be refrained from miſdoing. Another kind of bondmen they haue, when a vile drudge being a poore laborer in another Countrey, doth chooſe of his owne free will to be a bondman among them. Theſe they intreat and order honeſtly, and entertaine almoſt as gently, as their owne free citizens, ſaving that they put them to a little more labour, as thereto accuſtomed. If any ſuch, bee diſpoſed to depart thence (which ſeldom e is ſeene) they neither hold him againſt his will, neither ſend him away with empty hands. The ſicke (as I ſaid) they ſee to with great affection, and let nothing at all paſſe, cõcerning either Phiſicke or good

Of t'em that be ſicke.

good diet, whereby they may be restored againe to their health. Such as be sicke of incureable diseases, they comfort with sitting by them, and to be short, withall manner of helpes that may be. But if the disease bee not onely vncureable, but also full of continuall paine and anguish the the Priests and the Magistrates exhort the man, seeing hee is not able to doe any duty of life and by ouerliuing; his owne death is noysome and irkesome to other and grieuous to himselfe: that he will determine with himselfe no longer to cherish that pestilent and painfull disease. And seeing his life is to him but a torment, that he will not be vnwilling to dy, but rather take a good hope to him, and either dispatch himselfe out of that painefull life, as out of a prison, or a racke of torment, or else suffer him selfe willingly to be ridde out of it by other. And in so doing, they

Voluntary death.

tell him he ſhall doe wiſely, ſeeing by his death he ſhall looſe no commodity, but end his paine. And becauſe in that act he ſhall follow the counſel of the Prieſts, that is ſay, of the Interpreters of Gods will and pleaſure, they ſhew him that he ſhall doe like a godly and a vertuous man. They that be thus perſwaded, finiſh their lives willingly, either with hunger, or elſe dye in their ſleepe without any feeling of death. But they cauſe none ſuch to dye againſt his will, nor they vſe no leſſe diligence and attendance about him: beleeuing this to be an honourable death. Elſe he that killeth himſelfe before that the Prieſts & the Counſell haue allowed the cauſe of his death, him as vnworthy either to be buried, or with fire to be conſumed, they caſt vnburied into ſome ſtinking marriſh. The woman is not married before ſhe be eighteene yeares old.

Of Wedlocke.

The

The man is foure yeares elder before he marry. If eyther the man or the woman be proued to haue actually offended before their mariage, with another, the party that so hath trespassed, is sharpely punished. And both the offenders, be forbidden ever after in all their life to marry: vnlesse the fault be forgiven by the Princes pardon. Both the good man and good wife of the house, where that offence was committed, as being slacke and negligent in looking to their charge, be in danger of great reproach, and infamy. That offence is so sharpely punished, because they perceiue that vnlesse they be diligently kept from the liberty of this vice, few will joyne together in the loue of marriage, wherein all the life must be led with one, and also all the griefes and displeasures coming therewith patiently be taken and born. Further-

more in chooſing wiues and husbands, they obſerue earneſtly and ſtraightly a cuſtome, which ſeemed to us very fond and fooliſh. For a ſad and honeſt patron ſheweth the woman be ſhe Maid or widdow, naked to the wooer. And likewiſe a ſage and diſcreet man, exhibiteth the wooer naked to the woman. At this cuſtome we laughed, and diſallowed it as fooliſh. But they on the other part doe greatly wonder at the folly of all other Nations, which in buying a Colt, whereas a little money is in hazard, be ſo chary and circumſpect, that though he be almoſt all bare, yet they will not buy him, unleſſe the ſaddle and all the harneſſe be taken off, leaſt under thoſe coverings be hid ſome gall or ſore. And yet in chuſing a Wife, which ſhall be either pleaſure or diſpleaſure to them all their life after, they be ſo rechleſſe, that all the reſidue of the womans body being

being covered with cloathes, they esteeme her scarcely by one hand breadth (for they can see no more but her face) and so to joyne her to them not without great jeopardy of evill agreeing together, if any thing in her body afterwards should chance to offend, and mislike them.

For all men be not so wise, as to have respect to the vertuous condition of the party. And the endowments of the body, cause the vertues of the mind more to be esteemed and regarded: yea, even the marriages of wise men. Verily so foule deformity may be hid under those coverings, that it may quite alienate and take away the mans mind from his wife, when it shall not be lawfull for their bodies to be separate againe. If such deformity happen by any chance after the Marriage is consummate and finished, well, therein no remedy but patience.

Every man muſt take his fortune well in worth. But it were well done that a law were made wherby all ſuch deceits might be eſcheued, and avoided before hand.

And this were they conſtrained more earneſtly to looke vpon, becauſe they onely of the nations in that part of the world be content every man with one wife a piece. And matrimony is there never broken, but by death: except adultery breake the bond, or elſe the intollerable wayward manners of either party. For if eyther of them find themſelves for any ſuch cauſe grieued, they may by the licence of the Counſell, change and take another. But the other party liueth ever after in infamy, and out of wedlocke. Howbeit the husband to put away his wife for no other fault, but for that ſome miſhap is fallen to her body, this by no meanes they will ſuffer? for they

Diuorſement.

judge

judge it a great point of cruelty, that any body in their moſt need of helpe and comfort, ſhould be caſt off and forſaken, and that old age, which both bringeth ſickneſſe with it, and is a ſickneſſe it ſelfe, ſhould unkindly, and unfaithfully be delt withall. But now and then it chanceth, wheras the man and woman cannot well agree betweene themſelves both of them finding other, with whom they hope to live more quietly and merrily, that they by the full conſent of them both, be divorſed aſunder and married againe to other. But that not without the authority of the Councell. Which agreeth to no divorſes, before they and their wives have diligently tryed and examined the matter. Yea, and then alſo they be loath to conſent to it, becauſe they know this to be the next way to breake love betweene man and wife, to be in eaſie

eaſie hope of a new marriage. Breakers of wedlocke be puniſhed with moſt grievous bondage. And if both the offendors were married, then the parties which in that behalfe have ſuffered wrong, being divorced from the adulterers, be married together, if they will, or elſe to whom they luſt. But if either of them both doe ſtill continue in love toward ſo unkind a bed-fellow, the vſe of wedlock is not to them forbidden, if the party faultleſſe be diſpoſed to follow in toyling and drudgery, the perſon, which for that offence is condemned to bondage. And very oft it chanceth, that the repentance of the one, and the earneſt diligence of the other, doth ſo moue the Prince with pitty and compaſſion, that he reſtoreth the bond perſon from ſeruitude, to liberty and freedome againe. But if the ſame party be taken eftſoones in that fault, there is no other way but

but death. To other treſpaſſes no preſcripe puniſhment is appointed by any law. But according to the hainouſneſſe of the offence, or contrary, ſo the puniſhment is moderated by the diſcretion of the Councell. The husbands chaſtice their wives, and the parents their children, unleſſe they have done any ſo horrible an offence, that the open puniſhment thereof maketh much for the advancement of honeſt manners.

The deſtruing of puniſhment put to the diſcretion of the Magiſtrates.

But moſt commonly the moſt hainous faults be puniſhed with the incommodity of bondage. For that they ſuppoſe to be to the offendors no leſſe griefe, and to the Common-wealth more profit, then if they ſhould haſtily put them to death, and ſo make them quite out of the way. For their commeth more profit of their labour, thē of their death, and by their example they feare other the longer from like offences. But if they being thus vſed, doe

rebell and kicke againe, then forsooth they be ſtaine as deſperate and wild beaſts, whom neither priſon nor chaine could reſtraine and keepe vnder. But they, which take their bondage patiently, be not left al hopeleſſe. For after they haue beene broken and tamed with long miſeries, if then they ſhew ſuch repentance, as thereby it may be perceiued that they be ſorier for their offence then for their puniſhment: ſometimes by the Princes prerogatiue, and ſometimes by the voice or elſe conſent of the people, their bondage either is mittigated, or cleane releaſed and forgiven. He that mooveth to adultery is in no leſſe danger and jeopardy, then if he had committed adultery in deed. For in all offences they count the intent and pretenſed purpoſe as evill, as the act or deede it ſelfe, thinking that no let ought to excuſe him, that did his beſt to haue no let.

Motion to adultery puniſhed.

Thev

They haue ſinguler delight and pleaſure in Fooles. And as it is a great reproach to doe to any of them hurt or injury, ſo they prohibite not to take pleaſure of fooliſhneſſe. For that they think, doth much good to the fooles. And if any man be ſo ſad and ſterne, that he cannot laugh neither at their words, nor at their deeds, none of them be committed to his tuition: for feare leaſt he would not intreat them gently and favourably enough: to whom they ſhould bring no delectation (for other good neſſe in them is none) much leſſe any profit ſhould they yeeld him. To mocke a man for his deformity, or that he lacketh one part or limme of his body, is counted great diſhoneſty and reproach, not to him that is mocked, but to him that mocketh. Which vnwiſely doth imbraid any man of that as a vice, that was not in his power to eſchew, alſo as they count

Pleaſure of fooles.

Counterfet beauty.

count and reckon very little wit to be in him, that regardeth not naturall beauty and comelineſſe; ſo to helpe the ſame with paintings, is taken for a vaine and a wanton pride, not without great infamy. For they know even by very experience, that no comelineſſe of beauty doth ſo highly commend and advance the wiues in the conceits of their husbands, as honeſt conditions and lowlineſſe: For as loue is oftentimes wonne with beauty, ſo it is not kept, preſerued and continued, but by vertue and obedience. They doe not onely feare their people from doing euill, by puniſhments, but alſo allure them to vertue with rewards of honour. Therefore they ſet vp in the Markes place the Images of notable men, and of ſuch as haue beene bountifull benefactors to the Common-wealth, for the perpetuall memory of their good acts: and alſo that the glory and

Sinne puniſhed and vertue rewarded.

renowne

renowne of the anceſtors may ſtirre and provoke their poſterity to vertue. He that inordinatly and ambitiouſly deſireth promotions, is left all hopeleſſe for ever attaining any promotion as long as he liveth. They live together lovingly: For no Magiſtrate is either haughty or fearefull. Fathers they be called, and like fathers they uſe themſelves. The Citizens (as it is their duty) willingly exhibit unto them due honour without any compulſion. Nor the Prince himſelfe is not knowne from the other by princely apparell, or a robe of ſtate, nor by a crowne or diademe royall, or cap of maintenance, but by a little ſheafe of Corne carried before him. And ſo a taper of waxe is borne before the Biſhop, whereby onely he is knowne. They have but few lawes. For to people to inſtruct and inſtitute, very few doe ſuffice. Yea, this thing they chiefly re-

The inordinate deſire of honors condemned.

Magiſtrats honoured.

Few Lawes.

reproue among other actions, that innumerable bookes of lawes & expoſitions vpon the ſame be not ſufficient. But they think it againſt all right and juſtice, that men ſhould be bound to theſe lawes, which either be in number moe then be able to be read, or elſe blinder and darker, then that any man can well vnderſtand them. Furthermore they vtterly exclude and baniſh all Atturnies, Proctors, and Sergeants at the Law, which craftily handle matters, and ſubtilly diſpute of the lawes. For they thinke it moſt meet, that every man ſhould plead his owne matter, and tell the ſame tale to the Iudge, that he would tell to his man of law. So ſhall there be leſſe circumſtance of words, & the truth ſhall ſooner come to light, whiles the Iudge with a diſcreet iudgement doth away the words of him, who no lawyer hath inſtruct with deceit, and whiles he beareth out ſimple

The multitude of Lawyers ſuperfluous.

simple wits against the false and malicious circumventions of crafty children. This is hard to be observed in other Countries, in so infinit a number of blind and intricate lawes. But in *Vtopia* every man is a cunning Lawyer. For as (I said) they have very few lawes: and the plainer and grosser that any interpretation is: that they allow as most just. For all lawes (say they) be made and published only to the intent, that by them every man shall be put in remembrance of his duty. But the crafty and subtill interpretation of them (forasmuch as few can attaine thereto) can put very few in that remembrance, whereas the simple, the plaine, and grosse meaning of the lawes is open to every man. Else as touching the vulgar sort of the people, which be both most in number, and have most need to know their duties, were it not as good for them, that no

The intent of Lawes.

no Law were made at all, as when it is made to bring ſo blind an interpretation vpon it, that without great wit and long arguing no man can diſcuſſe it? To the finding out whereof, neither the groſſe judgement of the people can attaine, neither the whole life of them that be occupyed in working for their livings, can ſuffice thereto. Theſe vertues of the *Vtopians* have cauſed their next neighbours and borderers, which live free and under no ſubjection (for the *Vtopians* long agoe, have delivered many of them from Tyrannie) to make Magiſtrates of them, ſome for a yeare, and ſome for fiue yeares ſpace. Which when the time of their office is expired, they bring home againe with honour and praiſe, and take new againe with them into their Country.

Theſe nations haue undoubtedly very well and holſomly provided

vided for their Common-wealths. For seeing that both the making and the marring of the Weale publique, doth depend and hang vpon the manners of the Rulers and Magistrates, what officers could they more wisely have chosen, then those which cannot be lead from honesty by bribes (for to thē that shortly after shall depart thence into their owne Country, money should be unprofitable) nor yet be moved either with favour, or malice towards any man, as being strangers, and unacquainted with the people? The which two vices of affection and avarice, where they take place in judgements, incontinent they breake justice, the strongest and surest bond of a Common-wealth. These people which fetch their officers and rulers from them, the *Vtopians* call their fellowes. And other to whom they have beene beneficiall, they call their friends. As touching

touching leagues, which in other places betweene Country and Country, be so often concluded broken and renewed, they never make none with any nation. For to what purpose serve leagues, say they? As though nature had not set sufficient love betweene man and man. And who so regardeth not nature, thinke you that he will passe for words? They be brought into this opinion chiefly, because that in those parts of the world, leagues betweene Princes be wont to be kept and observed very slenderly. For here in *Europe*, and especially in these parts where the faith and religion of Christ reigneth, the majesty of leagues is every where esteemed holy and inviolable: partly through the justice and goodnesse of Princes, and partly at the reverence and motion of the head Bishops. Which like as they make no promise themselves, but they doe very

very religiously performe the same, so they exhort all Princes in any wise to abide by their promises, and them that refuse or deny so to doe, by their Pontificall power and authority, they compell thereto. And surely they thinke well that it might seeme a very reproachfull thing, if in the leagues of them which by a peculiar name be called faithfull, faith should have no place. But in that new found part of the world, which is scarcely so farre from vs beyond the line equinoctiall, as our life and manners be dissident from theirs, no trust nor confidence is in leagues. But the more and holier ceremony the league is knit vp with, the sooner it is broken by some cavillation found in the words, which many times of purpose be so craftily put in and placed, that the bands can never be so sure nor so strong, but they will find some hole open to creepe out at and

and to breake both league and truth. The which crafty dealing, yea the which fraud and deceit, if they ſhould know it to be practiſed among private men in their bargaines and contracts, they would incontinent cry out at it with an open mouth, and a ſowre countenance, as an offence moſt deteſtable, and worthy to be puniſhed with a ſhamefull death: yea even very they that advance themſelves Authors of like counſaile, is given to Princes. Wherefore it may well be thought, either that all juſtice is but a baſe and a low vertue, and which availeth it ſelfe farre under the high dignity of Kings: Or, at the leaſt-wiſe, that there be two Iuſtices, the one meet for the inferiour ſort of the people, going a foot and creeping low by the ground, and bound downe on every ſide with many bands, becauſe it ſhall not run at rovers. The other a princely vertue, which

which like as it is of much higher Majesty, then the other poore justice, so also it is of much more liberty, as to the which nothing is unlawfull that it listeth after. These manners of Princes (as I said) which be there so evill keepers of leagues, cause the *Vtopians*, as I suppose, to make no leagues at all, which perchance would change their mind if they lived here. Howbeit they thinke that though leagues be never so faithfully observed and kept, yet the custome of making leagues was very evill begun. For this causeth men (as though nations which be separate a sunder, by the space of a little hill, or River, were coupled together by no society or bond of nature) to thinke themselves borne adversaries and enemies one to another, and that it were lawfull for the one to seeke the death and destruction of the other, if leagues were not: yea, and that after the leagues

leagues be accorded, friendſhip doth not grow and increaſe: But the licence of robbing and ſtealing doth ſtill remaine, as farre forth as for lacke of fore-ſight and adviſement in writing the words of the league, any ſentence or clauſe to the contrary is not therein ſufficiently comprehended. But they be of a contrary opinion. That is, that no man ought to be counted an enemy which hath done no injury. And that the fellowſhip of nature is a ſtrong league, and that men be better and more ſurely knit together in by love and benevolence, then by covenants of leagues: by hearty affection of mind, then by words

Of

Of War-fare.

VVArre or Battaile as a thing very beastly, and yet no kind of beasts in so much vse as to man, they doe detest and abhorre. And contrary to the custome almost of all other nations, they count nothing so much against glory, as glory gotten in warre. And therefore though they doe daily practice and exercise themselves in the discipline of warre, not only the men, but also the women vpon certaine appointed dayes, least they should be to seek in the feat of armes, if need should require, yet they never goe to battaile, but either in the defence of their owne Country, or to drive out of their friends Land the enemies that have invaded it, or by the power to deliver from the yoake and bondage of Tyrannie some people, that be

therewith oppreſſed. Which thing they doe of meere pitty and compaſſion. Howbeit they ſend helpe to their friends, not ever in their defence, but ſometimes alſo to requite and revenge injuries before to them done. But this theſe doe not vnleſſe their counſell and adviſe in the matter be asked, whiles it is yet new and freſh, For if they find the cauſe probable, and if the contrary part will not reſtore againe ſuch things as be of them juſtly demanded, then they be the chiefe authors and makers of the warre. Which they doe not onely as oft as by rurodes and invaſions of ſouldiers preyes and booties be driven, but then alſo much more mortally, when their friends marchants in any land, either vnder the pretence of vnjuſt lawes, or elſe by the wreſting and wrong vnderſtanding of good lawes, doe ſuſtaine an vnjuſt accuſation vnder the colour

colour of iuſtice. Neither the battaile which the *Vtopians* fought for the *Nephelogetes* againſt the *Alaopolitanes* a little before our time, was made for any other cauſe, but that the *Nephelogete* marchant men, as the *Vtopians* thought, ſuffered wrong of the *Alaopolitans*, vnder the pretence of right. But whether it were right or wrong, it was with ſo cruell and mortall warre revenged, the Countries round about joyning their helpe and power to the puiſſance and malice of both parties, that moſt flourishing and wealthy peoples, being ſome of them ſhrewdly ſhaken, and ſome of them ſharply beaten, the miſchiefes were not finiſhed nor ended, vntill the *Alaopolitans*, at the laſt were yeelded vp as bondmen into the juriſdiction of the *Nephelogetes*. For the *Vtopians* fought not this warre for themſelves. And yet the *Nephe-*

Iogetes before the warre, when the *Alaopolitanes* flouriſhed in wealth, were nothing to be compared with them. So eagerly the *Vtopians* proſecute the injuries done to their friends: yea, in money matters and not their owne likewiſe. For if they by covine or guile be wiped beſide their goods, ſo that no violence be done to their bodies, they eaſe their anger by abſtaining from occupying with that nation, untill they have made ſatisfaction. Not for becauſe they ſet leſſe ſtore by their owne Citizens, then by their friends: but that they take the loſſe of their friends money more heavily then the loſſe of their owne. Becauſe that their friends Merchant men, for as much as that the loſſe is their owne private goods, ſuſtaine great damage by the loſſe. But their own Citizens loſe nothing but of the common goods, and of that which was at home plentiful\

tifull and almoſt ſuperfluous, elſe had it not beene ſent forth. Therefore no man feeleth the loſſe. And for this cauſe they thinke it too cruell an act, to revenge the loſſe with the death of man, the incommodity of the which loſſe no man feeleth neither in his life, nor yet in his living. But if it chance that any of their men be in any other Country be maimed or killed, whether it be done by a common or a private Councell, knowing and trying out the truth of the matter by their Ambaſſadours, unleſſe the offendors be rendered unto them in recompence of the injury, they will not be appeaſed: but incontinent they proclaime Warre againſt them. The offendors yeelded, they puniſh either with death, or with bondage. They be not onely ſory, but alſo aſhamed to atchieve the victory with bloodſhed, counting it great folly

Victory deere bought.

to buy precious wares too deare. They rejoyce and avant themſelves, if they vanquiſh and oppreſſe their enemy by craft and deceit. And for that act they make a generall triumph, and as if the matter were manfully handled, they ſet vp a pillar of ſtone in the place, where they ſo vanquiſhed their enemies, in token of their victory. For then they glory, then they boaſt and crack, that they haue plaied the men indeed, when they haue ſo overcome, as no other living creature, but only man could: that is to ſay, by th might and puiſſance of wit. For with bodily ſtrength (ſay they) Beares, Lions, Boares, wolfes, dogs, and other wild beaſts doe fight. And as the moſt part of them doe paſſe vs in ſtrength and fierce courage, ſo in wit & reaſon we be much ſtronger then they all. Their chiefe & principall purpoſe in war, is to obtaine that thing, which

which if they had before obtained, they would not haue mooved battaile. But if that be not possible, they take such cruell vengeance of them which be in the fault, that ever after they be affraid to doe the like.

This is their chiefe and principall intent, which they immediatly and first of all prosecute, and set forward. But yet so, that they be more circumspect in auoyding and eschewing jeopardies, then they be desirous of praise and renowne. Therefore immediatly after that warre is once solemnly denounced, they procure many Proclamations signed with their owne common seale, to be set vp privily at one time in their enemes land, in places most frequented. In these proclamations they promise great rewards to him that will kill their enemies Prince, and somewhat lesse gifts, but them very great also, for every head of

thē, whose names be in the said proclamations contained. They be those whom they count their chiefe adversaries, next unto the Prince whom there is prescribed, unto him that killeth any of the proclaimed persons, that is doubled to him that bringeth any of the same to them alive: yea, and to the proclaimed persons themselves, if they will change their minds, and come into them, taking their parts, they proffer the same great rewards with pardon and surety of their lives. Therefore it quickly commeth to passe, that their enemies have all other men in suspition, and be unthankfull, and mistrusting among themselves one to another living in great feare, and in no lesse jeopardy. For it is well knowne, that divers times the most part of them (and specially the Prince himselfe) hath beene betrayed of them, in whom they put their most hope and trust.

truſt. So there is no manner of act nor deed that gifts and rewards doe not inforce men unto. And in rewards they keepe no meaſure. But remembring and conſidering into how great hazard and jeopardy they call them, endevour themſelves to recompence the greatneſſe of the danger with like great benefits. And therefore they promiſe not onely wonderfull great abundance of gold, but alſo lands of great revenues lying in moſt ſafe places among their friends. And their promiſes they performe faithfully without any fraud or covine.

This cuſtome of buying and ſelling adverſaries, among other people is diſallowed, as a cruel act of a baſe and a cowardiſh mind. But they in this behalfe thinke themſelves much praiſe worthy, as who likewiſe, men by this meanes diſpatch great Warres without Battaile or

skirmish. Yea, they count it also a deed of pitty and mercy, because that by the death of a few offenders, the lives of a great number of Innocents, as well of their owne men, as also of their enemies, be ransomed and saved, which in fighting should have beene slaine. For they doe no lesse pitty the base and common sort of their enemies people, then they doe their owne: knowing that they be driven and forced to warre against their wills, by the furious madnesse of their Princes and heads. If by none of these meanes the matter goe forward, as they would have it, then they procure occasions of debate, and dissention to be spread among their enemies. As by bringing the Princes brother, or some of the noble men in hope to obtaine the Kingdome. If this way prevaile not, then they raise vp the people that be next neighbours and borderers to their enemies,

mies, and them they ſet in their necks under the colour of ſome old title of right, ſuch as Kings doe never lacke. To them they promiſe their helpe and ayd in their Warre. And as for money they giue them abundance. But of their owne Citizens they ſend to them few or none: whom they make ſo much of, and loue ſo intirely, that they would not be willing to change any of them for their adverſaries Prince. But their gold and ſilver, becauſe they keepe it all for this onely purpoſe, they lay it out frankly and freely: as who ſhould liue even as wealthily, if they had beſtowed it every penny. Yea and beſides their riches, which they keepe at home, they haue alſo an infinite treaſure abroad, by reaſon that (as I ſaid before) many Nations be in their debt. Therefore they hire ſouldiours out of all Countries and ſend them to Battaile, but chiefly of the

the *Zapoletes*. This people, is five hundred miles from *Vtopia* Eastward. They be hidious, savage, and fierce, dwelling in wild Woods, and high mountaines, where they were bred and brought vp. They be of an hard nature, able to abide and sustaine heate, cold, and labour, abhorring from all dilicate dainties, occupying no husbandry nor tillage of the ground, homely and rude both in building of their houses, and in their apparell, given unto no goodnesse, but onely to the breeding and bringing vp of Cattle. The most part of their living is by hunting and stealing. They be borne onely to warre, which they diligently and earnestly seek for. And when they have gotten it, they be wondrous glad thereof. They goe forth of their Country in great companies together, and whosoever lacketh souldiours, there they proffer their service for smal wages.

wages. This is onely the craft that they have to get their living by. They maintaine their lives, by ſeeking their death. For them with whom they be in wages, they fight hardly, fiercely, and faithfully. But they bind themſelves for no certaine time. But vpon this condition they enter into bonds, that the next day they will take part with the other ſide for greater wages, and the next day after that, they will be ready to come back againe for a little more money. There be few warrs there away, wherein is not a great number of them in both parties. Therefore it daily chanceth, that nigh kinſfolke which were hired together on one part, and there very friendly and familiarly vſed themſelves one with another, ſhortly after being ſeparate into contrary parts, run one againſt another enviouſly and fiercely: and forgetting both kindred and friendſhip thruſt

thrust their ſwords one in another. And that for none other cauſe, but that they be hired for contrary Princes for a little money. Which they doe ſo highly regard and eſteeme, that they will eaſily be provoked to change parts for a halfe-penny more wages by the day. So quickly they have taken a ſmacke in covetouſneſſe. Which for all that, is to them no profit. For that they get by fighting, immediately they ſpend needleſſe, unthriftily and wretchedly in ryot.

This people fighteth for the *Vtopians* againſt all Nations, becauſe they give them greater wages, then any other nation will. For the *Vtopians* like as they ſeeke good men to vſe well, ſo they ſeeke theſe evill and vicious men to abuſe. Whom, when need requireth, with promiſes of great rewards, they put forth into great jeopardies. From whence the moſt part of them never commeth

commeth againe to aske their rewards. But to them that remaine alive, they pay that which they promised faithfully, that they may be the more willing to put themselves in like danger another time. Nor the *Vtopians* passe nor how many of them they bring to destruction. For they beleeve that they should doe a very good deed for all mankind, if they could rid out of that world all that foule stincking denne of that most wicked and cursed people. Next unto these, they vse the souldiours of them for whom they fight: and then the helpe of their other friends. And last of all, they joyne to their owne Citizens. Among whom they give to one of tried vertue, and powers, the rule, governance and conduction of the whole Army. Vnder him they appoint two other, which whiles he is safe, be both private and out of office. But if he be taken or slaine,

ſlaine the one of the other ſucceedeth him, as it were by inheritance. And if the ſecond miſcarry, then the third taketh his roome, leaſt that (as the chance of Battaile is uncertaine and doubtfull) the jeopardy of death of the Captaine ſhould bring the whole army in hazard. They chooſe ſouldiours out of every City, thoſe, which put forth themſelves willingly. For they thruſt no man forth into warre againſt his will: becauſe they beleeve, if any man be fearefull and faint-hearted of nature, he will not onely doe no manfull and hardy act himſelfe, but alſo be occaſion of cowardneſſe to his fellowes. But if any Battaile be made againſt their owne Country, then they put theſe cowards (ſo that they be ſtrong bodied) in Ships among other bold harted men. Or elſe they diſpoſe them vpon the walls, frō whence they may not flie. Thus what for

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ſhame that their enemies be at hand, and what for becauſe they be without hope of running away, they forget all feare. And many times extreame neceſſity turneth cowardneſſe into proweſſe and manlineſſe. But as none of them is thruſt forth of his Country into warre againſt his will, ſo women that be willing to accompany their husbands in time of warre, be not prohibited or letted. Yea they provoke and exhort them to it with praiſes. And in ſet field the wives doe ſtand every one by their owne husbands ſide. Alſo every man is compaſſed next about with his owne children, kinsfolkes, and alliance, That they whom nature chiefly mooveth to mutuall ſuccour, thus ſtandeth together, may helpe one another. It is a great reproach and diſhoneſty for the huſband to come home without his wife, or the wife without her huſ-

husband, or the sonne without his father. And therefore if the other part sticke so hard by it, that the battaile come to their hands, it is fought with great slaughter and blood-shed, even to the utter destruction of both parties. For as they make all the meanes and shifts that may be, to keepe themselves from the necessity of fighting, or that they may dispatch the battaile by their hired souldiors, so when there is no remedy, but that they must needs fight themselves, then they doe as courageously fall to it, as before, whiles they might, they did wisely avoid and refuse it. Nor they be not most fierce at the first brunt. But in continuance by little and little their fierce courage encreaseth, with so stubborne and obstinate minds, that they will rather die then give backe an inch. For that surety of living, which every man hath at home, being joyned with no care-

full

full anxiety or remembrance how their posterity shall live after them (for this pensivenesse oftentimes breaketh and abateth couragious stomackes) making them stout and hardy, and disdainfull to be conquered. Moreover, their knowledge in chimalry and feates of armes, putteth them in a good hope. Finally the wholesome and vertuous opinions wherein they were brought vp even from their childhood, partly through learning, and partly through the good ordinance and lawes of their Weale publique, augmens and encrease their manfull courage. By reason whereof, they neither set so little store by their lives, that they will rashly and vnadvisedly cast them away: nor they be not so farre in lewd and fond love therewith, that they will shamefully covet to keepe them, when honesty biddeth leave them. When the battaile is hottest, and in

The Captaine is chiefly to be pursued to the intent the battaile may the sooner be ended.

in all places moſt fierce and fervent, a band of choſen and picked yong men, which be ſworne to liue and dye together, take vpon them to deſtroy their adverſaries captaine. Whom they invade now with privy wiles, now by open ſtrength. At him they ſtrike both neare and farre off. He is aſſailed with a long and a continuall aſſault, freſh men ſtill comming in the wearied mens places. And ſeldome it chanceth (vnleſſe he ſaue himſelfe by flying) that he is not either ſlain or elſe taken priſoner, and yeelded to his enemies aliue. If they win the field, they perſecute not their enemies with the violent rage of ſlaughter. For they had rather take them aliue, then kill them. Neither doe they follow the chaſe and purſuit of their enemies, but they leaue behinde them one part of their hoaſt in battaile aray, vnder their ſtandards. Inſomuch, that if all their

their whole army be discomfited and over-come, saving the reward, and that they therewith atchieue the victory, then they had rather let all their enemies scape, then to follow them out of array. For they remember it hath chanced vnto themselves more then once: the whole power and strength of their hoast being vanquished and put to flight, whiles their enemies rejoycing in the victory haue persecuted them, flying some one away and some another, a small company of their men lying in ambush, there ready at all occasions, haue suddainely risen vpon them thus dispersed and scattered out of array, and through presumption of safety vnadvisedly pursuing the chase and haue incontinent changed the fortune of the whole battaile, and spite of their teethes wresting out of their hands the sure and vndoubted victory, being a little before

262

before conquered, have for their part conquered the conquerers. It is hard to say whether they be craftier in laying an ambush, or wittier in avoiding the same. You would thinke they intend to flie, when they meane nothing lesse. And contrariwise, when they goe about that purpose, you would beleeve it were the least part of their thought. For if they perceive themselves overmatched in number, or closed in too narrow a place, then they remove their campe either in the night season with silence, or by some policy they deceive their enemies, or in the day time they retire backe so softly, that it is no lesse jeopardy to meddle with them when they give backe, then when they presse on. They fence and fortifie their campe surely with a deepe and a broad trench. The earth thereof is cast inward. Nor they doe not set drudges and slaves a worke about it. It is done by the

hands

hands of the ſouldiours themſelves. All the whole Army worketh upon it, except them that keepe watch and ward in armor before the trench for ſuddaine adventures. Therefore by the labour of ſo many, a large trench cloſing in a great compaſſe of ground, is made in leſſe time then any man would beleeve. Their Armour or hardneſſe which they weare, is ſure and ſtrong to receive ſtroakes, and handſome for all moovings and geſtures of the body, inſomuch that it is not unweldy to ſwimme in. For in the diſcipline of their war-fare, among other feats they learne to ſwimme in harneſſe. Their weapons be arrowes aloofe, which they ſhoot both ſtrongly and ſurely, not only footmen, but alſo horſemen. At hand ſtroakes they vſed not ſword, but Pollaxes, which be mortall, as well in ſharpeneſſe as in weight, both for foynes and downe

Their Armour.

downe ſtroakes. Engines for war they deviſe and invent wondrous wittily. Which when they be made they keepe very ſecret, leaſt if they ſhould be knowne before neede require, they ſhould be but laughed at, and ſerue to no purpoſe. But in making them, hereunto they haue chiefe reſpect, that they be both eaſie to be carried, and handſome to be moved, and turned about. Truce taken with their enemies for a ſhort time, they doe ſo firmely and faithfully keepe, that they will not breake it, no, not though they be thereunto provoked. They doe not waſte nor deſtroy their enemies land with forragings, nor they burne not vp their Corne. Yea they ſaue it as much as may be from being overrunne and trodden downe, either with men or horſes, thinking that it groweth for their owne vſe & profit. They hurt no man that is vnarmed, vnleſſe he be

Of Truces

be an Espyall. All Cities that be yeelded unto them, they defend. And such as they winne by force of assault, they neither dispoyle nor sacke, but them that withstood and disswaded the yeelding vp of the same, they put to death, the other souldiers they punish with bondage. All the weake multitude they leave untouched If they know that any Citizens counselled to yeeld and render vp the City, to them they give part of the condemned mens goods. The residue they distribute and give freely among them, whose helpe they had in the same warre. For none of themselves taketh any portion of the prey. But when the battaile is finished and ended, they put their friends to never a penny cost of all the charge that they were at, but lay it vpon their neckes that be conquered. Them they burthen with the whole charge of their expenses,

which they demand of them partly in money, to be kept for like vſe of battaile, and partly in lands of great revenewes to be paid unto them yearely for ever. Such revenewes they have now in many Countries. Which by little and little riſing of divers and ſundry cauſes, be increaſed above ſeven hundred thouſand ducates by the yeare. Thither they ſend forth ſome of their Citizens as Lieftenants, to live there ſumptuouſly, like men of honour and renowne. And yet this notwithſtanding, much money is ſaved, which commeth to the common treaſury: unleſſe it ſo chance, that they had rather truſt the Country with the money. Which many times they doe ſo long, untill they have need to occupy it. And it ſeldome happeneth that they demand all. Of theſe lands they aſſigne part unto them, which at their rebueſt and exhortation,

put

put themselves in such jeopardies, as I spake of before. If any Prince stirre up warre, against them, intending to invade their land, they meet him in confines out of their owne borderers, with great power and strength. For they never lightly make warre in their owne Country. Nor they be never brought into so extreame necessity, as to take helpe out of forraine lands into their owne Iland.

Of the Religions in Vtopia.

THere be divers kinds of Religion, not onely in sundry parts of the Iland but also in divers places of every City. Some worship for God, the Sun: some the Moone: some other of the Planets. There be that give worship to a man that was

once of excellent vertue or of famous glory, not only as GOD, but also as the chiefeſt and higheſt GOD. But the moſt and the wiſeſt part (rejecting all theſe) beleeve, that there is a certaine godly power unknowne, everlaſting, incomprehenſible, inexplicable, farre above the capacity & reach of mans wit, diſperſed throughout all the whole world, not in bigneſſe, but in vertue and power. Him they call the father of all. To him alone they attribute the beginnings, the increaſings, the proceedings, the changes, and the ends of all things. Neither they give any divine honours to any other then to him. Yea all the other alſo, though they be in divers opinions, yet in this point they agree all together with the wiſeſt ſort, in beleeving that there is one principall GOD, the maker and ruler of the whole world: whom they all commonly in their Country language call

Mythra

Mythra. But in this they disagree that among some he is counted one, and among some another. For every one of them, whatsoever that is which he taketh for the chiefe God, thinketh it to be the very same nature, to whose only divine might and majesty the summe and soveraignty of all things by the consent of all people is attributed and given. Howbeit they all begin by little and little to forsake and fall from this variety of superstitions, and to agree together in that religion which seemeth by reason to passe and excell the residue. And it is not to be doubted, but all the other would long agoe have been abolished, but that whatsoever unprosperous thing happened to any of them, as he was minded to change his religion, the fearefulnesse of people did take it, not as a thing comming by chance but as sent from GOD out of Heaven. As though the

the God, whose honour he was forsaking, would haue reuenged that wicked purpose against him. But after they heard vs speake of the name of Christ, of his doctrin, lawes, myracles, and of the no lesse wonderfull constancy of so many martyrs, whose blood willingly shead, brought a great number of nations throughout all parts of the world into their sect: you will not beleeue with how glad minds, they agreed vnto the same: whether it were by the secret inspiration of God, or else for that they thought it nighest vnto that opinion, which among them is counted the chiefest. Howbeit I thinke this was no small helpe and furtherance in the matter, that they heard vs say, that Christ instituted among his, all things common: and that the same comunity doth yet remaine amongst the righest Christian cõpanies. Verily howsoeuer it came

Religious bowses.

to

to passe, many of them consented together in our religion, and were washed in the holy water of Baptisme. But because among vs foure (for no moe of vs was left aliue, two of our company being dead) there was no Priest, which I am right sory for: they being entred and instructed in all other points of our religion, lacke onely those sacraments, which none but Priests doe minister. Howbeit they vnderstand & perceiue them, and be very desirous of the same. Yea they reason and dispute the matter earnestly among themselves, whither without the sending of a Christian Bishop, one chosen out of their owne people, may receiue the order of Priesthood. And truely they were minded to choose one. But at my departure thence they had chosen none.

They also which doe not agree to Christs religion, ferre no man from it, nor speake against any

man that hath received it. Saving that one of our company in my presence was sharpely punished. He as soone as he was baptised began against our wils with more earnest affection, then wisedome to reason of Christs Religion: and began to waxe so hot in this matter, that he did not onely preferre our Religion before all other, but also did vtterly despise and condemne all other, calling them prophane, and the followers of them wicked and deviliſh, and the children of everlasting damnation. When he had thus long reasoned the matter, they laid hold on him, accused him, and condemned him into exile, not as a dispiser of religion, but as a seditious person, and a rayser vp of dissention among the people. For this is one of the ancientest lawes among them: that no man shall be blamed for reasoning in the maintenance of his owne religion. For King

Vtopus

Vtopus, even at the first beginning, hearing that the inhabitants of the land were before his comming thither, at continuall dissention and strife among themselves for their religions: perceiving also that this common dissention (whiles every severall Sect tooke severall parts in fighting for their Country) was the onely occasion of his Conquest over them all, as soone as he had gotten the victory. First of all, he made a decree, that it should be lawfull for every man to favour and follow what religion he would, and that he might doe the best he could to bring other to his opinion, so that he did it peaceably, gently, quietly, and soberly, without hasty and contentious rebuking and inveying against other. If he could not by faire and gentle speech induce them vnto his opinion, yet he should vse

no kind of violence, and refraine from displeasant and seditious words. To him that would vehemently and fervently in this cause strife and contend, was decreed, banishment, or bondage. This law did King *Utopus* make not onely for the maintenance of peace, which hee saw through continual contentation and mortall hatred vtterly extinguished: but also because he thought this decree should make for the furtherance of religion. Whereof he durst define and determine nothing vnadvisedly, as doubting whither God desiring manifold and divers sorts of honour, would inspire sundry men with sundry kinds of religion. And this surely he thought a very vnmeet and foolish thing, & a point of arrogant presumption, to compell all other by violence and threatnings to agree to the same, that thou beleevest to be true. Furthermore, though there

Seditious reasoners punished.

be

be one religion, which alone is true, and all other vaine and superstitions, yet did he well foresee (so that the matter were handled with reason and sober modesty) that the truth of the owne power would at the last issue out and come to light. But if contention and debate in that behalfe should continually be vsed, as the worst men be most obstinate and stubborne, and in their evill opinion most constant: he perceived that then the best and holiest religion would be troden vnder foote and destroyed by most vaine superstitions, even as good corne is by thornes and weeds ouergrown and choaked. Therefore all this matter he left vndiscussed, and gaue to every man free liberty and choice to beleeue what he would. Saving that he earnestly and straitly charged them, that no man should conceiue so vile and base an opinion of the dignity

Neuile opinion to be conceiued of men worthy nature.

of mans nature, as to thinke that the ſoules doe die and periſh with the body: or that the world runneth at all adventures, governed by no divine providence. And therefore they beleeue that after this life vices be extreamely puniſhed, and vertues bountifully rewarded. He that is of a contrary opinion, they count not in the number of men, as one that hath availed the high nature of his ſoule, to the vileneſſe of brute beaſts bodies: much leſſe in the number of the Citizens, whoſe lawes and ordinances, if it were not for feare, he would nothing at all eſteeme. For you may be ſure that he will ſtudy either with craft privily to mocke, or elſe violently to breake the common lawes of his countrey, in whom remaineth no further feare then of the lawes, nor no further hope then of the body. Wherefore he that is thus minded is deprived of all honors, excluded

excluded from all offices, and reiect from all common administrations in the weale-publique.

Irreligious people excluded from all honours.

And thus he is of all sorts despised, as of an vnprofitable, and of a base and vile nature. Howbeit, they put him to no punishment, because they be perswaded, that it is in no mans power to beleeue what he list. No, nor they constraine him not with threatnings to dissemble his mind, and shew countenance contrary to his thought. For deceit and falshood, and all manner of lies, as next vnto fraud, they doe marueilously deiect and abhorre. But they suffer him not to dispute in his opinion, and that onely among the common people. For else apart among the Priests and men of grauity, they doe not onely suffer, but also exhort him to dispute and argue, hoping that, at the last, that madnesse will giue place to reason. There bee also other, and

A very strange saying.

Deceit and falshood detested.

and of them no ſmall number, which be not hidden to ſpeake their minds, as grounding their opinion vpon ſome reaſon, being in their living neither evill nor vicious. Their hereſie is much contrary to the other. For they beleeue that the ſoules of the brute beaſts be immortall and everlaſting. But nothing to be compared with others in dignity, neither ordained and predeſtinate to like felicity. For all they beleeue certainly and ſurely that mans bliſſe ſhall be ſo great, that they doe mourne and lament every mans ſickneſſe, but no mans death, vnleſſe it be on whom they ſee depart from his life carefully, and againſt his will. For this they take for a very evill token, as though the ſoule being in diſpaire, and vexed in conſcience, through ſome privy and ſecret foreſeeling of the puniſhment now at hand, were afraid to depart. And they

A marvellous ſtrange opinion touching the ſoules of brute beaſts.

To die unwillingly an evill token.

they thinke he shall not be welcome to GOD, which when he is called, runneth not to him gladly, but is drawne by force, and sore against his will. They therefore that see this kind of death, doe abhorre it, and them that so die, they bury with sorrow and silence. And when they have prayed to GOD to be mercifull to the soule, and mercifull to pardon the infirmities thereof, they cover the dead corse with earth. Contrariwise, all that depart merily and full of good hope, for them no man mourneth, but followeth the hearse with joyfull singing, commending the soules to GOD with great affection. And at the last, not with mourning sorrow, but with a great reverence they burne the bodies. And in the same place they set vp a pillar of stone, with the dead mens titles therein graved. When they be come home, they rehearse his vertuous manners

A willing and merry death not to be lamented.

ners and his good deeds. But no part of his life is so oft or gladly talked of, as his very death. They thinke that this remembrance of the vertue and goodnesse of the dead, doth vehemently provoke and enforce the living to vertue. And that nothing can be more pleasant and acceptable to the dead. Whom they suppose to bee present among them, when they talke of them, though to the dull and feeble eye-sight of mortall men they be invisible. For it were an inconvenient thing, that the blessed should not be at liberty to goe whither they would. And it were a point of great vnkindnesse in them, to haue vtterly cast away the desire of visiting & seeing their friends, to whom they were in their life time joyned by mutuall loue and amity. Which in good men after their death, they count to be rather increased then diminished. They beleeue therefore that the

dead

dead be presently conversant among the quicke, as beholders and witnesses of all their words and deeds. Therefore they goe more couragiously to their businesse, as having a trust and a fiance in such overseers. And this beleefe of the present conversation of their fore-fathers and ancestors among them, feareth them from all secret dishonesty. They vtterly dispise and mocke south-sayings and divinations of things to come, by the flight and voyces of birds, and all other diuination of vaine superstition, which in other countries be in great observation. But they highly esteeme and worship miracles that come by no helpe of nature, as workes and witnesses of the present power of GOD. And such they say doe chance there very often. And sometimes in great and doubtfull matters, by common intercession and prayers, they procure and obtaine them with

South-sayers not regarded nor credited. Miracles.

a ſure hope and confidence, and a ſtedfaſt beleefe.

The life contemplation.

They thinke that the contemplation of nature, and the praiſe thereof comming, is to GOD a very acceptable honour. Yet there be many ſo earneſtly bent and affected to religion, that they paſſe nothing for learning, nor give their minds to any knowledge of things. But idleneſſe they utterly forſake and eſchew, thinking felicity after this life to be gotten and obtained by buſie labour and good exerciſes. Some therefore of the attend vpon the ſicke, ſome amend high-wayes, cleanſe ditches, repaire Bridges, digge turfes, gravell, and ſtone, fell and cleave wood, bring wood corne, and other things, into the Cities in carts, and ſerve not onely in common workes, but alſo in private labours, as ſervants: yea, more then bondmen. For whatſoever unpleaſant, hard and vile worke is any where, from the

The life active.

which

which labour, loathsomnesse, and desperation doth fray other, all that they take upon the willingly and gladly, procuring rest and quiet to other, remaining in continuall worke and labour themselves, not embraiding others therewith. They neither reprove other mens lives, nor glory in their owne. These men the more serviceable they behave themselves, the more they be honored of all men. Yet they be divided into two sects. The one of them that live single and chast, abstaining not only from the company of women, but also from eating of flesh, and some of them from all manner of beasts. Which vterly rejecting the pleasures of this present life as hurtfull, be all wholly set vpon the desire of the life to come, by watching, waiting, and sweating, hoping shortly to obtaine it, being in the meane season merry and lusty. The other sect is no lesse

desirous

desirous of Labour, but they imbrace Matrimony, not despising the solace thereof, thinking that they cannot be discharged of their bounden duties toward nature, without labour and toyle, nor towards their native Country, without procreation of children. They abstaine from no pleasure that doth nothing hinder them from labour. They love the flesh of foure-footed beasts, because they beleeve that by the meat they be made hardy and stronger to worke. The *Utopians* count this Sect the wiser, but the other the holyer. Which if that they preferre single life before matrimony, and that sharpe life before the easier life, if herein they grounded upon reason, they would mocke them. But now forasmuch as they say they be lead to it by religion, they honour and worship them. And these be they whom in their language by a peculiar name, they call

It is not all one to be wise and good.

call *Brutheſcas*, the which word by interpretation, ſignifieth to vs, Men of religion, or religious men. They have Priests of exceeding holineſſe, and therefore very few. For there be but thirteen in every City according to the number of their Churches, ſaving when they goe forth to battaile. For then ſeaven of them goe forth with the army: in whoſe ſteads ſo many new be made at home. But the other at their returne home againe, renter every one in his owne place: they that be above the number, untill ſuch time as they ſucceed into the places of the other at their dying, be in the meane ſeaſon continually in company with the Biſhop. For he is the chiefe head of them all. They be choſen of the people, as the other Magiſtrates be by ſecret voices, for the avoiding of ſtrife. *Priests.*

After their election, they be conſecrate of their own company.

They

They be Overseers of all divine matters, orderers of religions, and as it were Iudges and Masters of manners. And it is a great dishonestly and shame to be rebuked or spoken to by any of them, for dissolute and incontinent living. But as it is their office to give good exhortations and counsell, so it is the duty of the Prince and the other Magistrates, to correct and punish offenders, saving that the Priests, whom they find exceeding vicious lives, them they excommunicate from having any interest in divine matters. And there is almost no punishment among them more feared. For they run in very great infamy, and be inwardly tormented with a secret feare of religion, and shall not long escape free with their bodies. For unlesse they by quicke repentance approve the amendment of their lives to the Priests, they be taken and punished of the

Excommunicate.

the Councell, as wicked and irreligious. Both child-hood and youth is instructed and taught of them. Nor they be not more diligent to instruct them in learning, then in vertue and good manners. For they vse with very great endeyour and diligence to put into the heads of their children, whiles they be yet tender, and pliant, good opinions and profitable for the conservation of the Weale publike. Which when they be once rooted in children doe remaine with them all their life after, and be wonderous profitable for their defence and maintenance of the state of the Common-wealth: which never decayeth but through vices rising of evill opinions.

The Priests, unlesse they be women (for that kind is not excluded from Priest-hood, howbeit few be chosen and none but widdowes and old women) the men Priests, I say, take to their wiues

wiues the chiefest women in all their Countrey. For to no office among the *Vtopians* is there more honour and preheminence giuen. Insomuch that if they commit any offence, they be vnder no common judgement, but be left onely to GOD and themselues. For they thinke it not lawfull to touch him with mans hand, be he neuer so vicious, which after so singuler a sort was dedicate and consecrate to GOD, as a holy offering.

The Maiesty and preheminence of Priests.

This manner may they easily obserue, because they haue so few Priests, and doe choose them with such circumspection. For it scarcely euer chanceth, that the most vertuous among vertuous, which in respect only of his vertue is aduanced to so high a dignity, can fall to vice & wickednesse. And if it should chance indeed (as mans nature is mutable and fraile) yet by reason they be so few, and promoted to no might nor pow-

power, but onely to honour, it were not to be feared that any great dammage by them should happen & ensue to the common-wealth. They haue so rare and few Priests, least if the honour were communicated to many, the dignity of the order, which among them now is so highly esteemed, should run in contempt. Specially because they thinke it hard, to find many so good, as to be meete for that dignity, to the execution and discharge wherof, it is not sufficient to be indued with meane vertues.

Furthermore, these Priests be not more esteemed of their owne Countrey men, then they be of forreigne and strange Countries. Which thing may hereby plainly appeare. And I thinke also that this is the cause of it. For whiles the armies be fighting together in open field, they a little beside not farre off kneele vpon their knees in their

O hallowed

hallowed veſtments, holding vp their hands to heaven: praying firſt of all for peace, next for victory of their owne part, but to neither part a bloudy victory. If their Hoſt get the vpper hand, they runne into the maine Battaile, and reſtraine their owne men from ſlaying and cruelly purſuing their vanquiſhed enemies. Which enemies, if they doe but ſee them and ſpeake to them, it is enough for the ſafeguard of their lives. And the touching of their cloathes defendeth and ſaveth all their goods from ravine and ſpoile. This thing hath advanced them to ſo great worſhip and true Majeſty among all Nations, that many times they have as well preſerved their owne Citizens from the cruell force of their enemies, as they have their enemies from the furious rage of their owne men. For it is well knowne, that when their owne Army hath recoiled and

and in despaire turned backe, and runne away, their enemies fiercely pursuing with slaughter and spoile, then the Priests comming betweene have stayed the murder, and parted both the hosts. So that peace hath beene made and concluded betweene both parts vpon equall and indifferent conditions. For there was never any Nation, so fierce, so cruell, and rude, but they had them in such reverence, that they counted their bodies hallowed and sanctified, and therefore not to be violently and unreverently touched.

The observation of holy dayes among the Utopians.

They keepe holy the first and last day of every Moneth and yeare, dividing the yeare into Moneths, which they measure by the course of the Moone, as they doe the yeare by the course of the Sunne. The first dayes they call in their language *Cinimernes*, and the last *Tapermernes*, the which words may

Their Churches.

be interpreted, Primifest and Finifest, or else in our speech, first feast and last feast. Their Churches be very gorgious, not onely of fine and curious workmanship, but also (which in the fewnesse of them was necessary) very wide and large, and able to receiue a great company of people. But they be all somewhat darke. Howbeit that was not done through ignorance in building, but as they say, by the counsell of the Priests. Because they thought that ouermuch light doth disperse mens cogitations, whereas in dimme and doubtfull light they be gathered together, and more earnestly fixed vpon religion and deuotion: which because it is not there of one sort among all men, and yet all the kinds and fashions of it, through they be sundry and manifold, agree together in the honor of diuine nature, as going diuers wayes to one end: therefore no-

Churches of a dimme light, and a reason why.

thing

thing is seene or heard in the Churches, but that seemeth to agree indifferently with them all. If there be a distinct kind of Sacrifice peculiar to any severall sect, that they execute at home in their owne houses. The common sacrifices be so ordered, that they be no derogation nor prejudice to any of the private sacrifices and religions. Therefore no Image of any GOD is seene in the Church, to the intent it may be free for every man to conceiue GOD by their religion after what likenesse and similitude they will. They call vpon no peculiar name of GOD, but onely *Mythra*. In the which word they all agree together in one nature of the divine Majesty whatsoever it be. No prayers be vsed such as every man may boldly pronounce without the offending of any Sect. They come therefore to the Church, the last day of every

Moneth and yeare in the evening yet fasting, there to give thankes to GOD for that they have prosperously passed over the yeare or Moneth, whereof that holiday is the last day.

The next day they come to the Church earely in the morning to pray to God that they may have good fortune and successe all the New yeare or Moneth, which they doe vse to begin of that same holy day.

But in the holy dayes that be the last dayes of the Moneths and yeares, before they come to the Church, the wives fall downe prostrate before their husbands feet at home, and the children before the feet of their parents, confessing and acknowledging themselves offenders either by some actuall deed, or by omission of their duty, and desire pardon for their offence. Thus if any cloud of privy displeasure was risen at home, by this satisfaction

faction it is over-blowne, that they may be present at the Sacrifices with pure and charitable minds. For they be afraid to come there with troubled consciences. Therefore if they know themselves to beare any hatred or grudge towards any man, they presume not to come to the sacrifices, before they have reconciled themselves and purged their consciences, for feare of great vengeance and punishment for their offence.

When they be come thither, the men goe into the right side of the Church, and the women into the left side. There they place themselves in such order, that all they which be of the male-kind in every household, sit before the good man of the house; and they of the female kind before the good wife. Thus it is fore-seene, that all their gestures and behaviours be marked and observed abroad of them,

An order for place in the Church.

by whose authority and discipline they be governed at home. This also they diligently see unto, that the younger evermore be coupled with his elder, least children being joyned together, they should passe over the time in childish wantonnesse, wherein they ought principally to conceive a religious & devout feare towards GOD: which is the chiefe and almost the only incitation to vertue. They kill no living beast in sacrifice, nor they thinke not that the mercifull clemencie of GOD doth dwell in bloud and slaughter, which hath given life to beasts, to the intent they should live. They burne frankensence, and other sweet savors, and light also a great number of waxe candles and tapers, not supposing this geere to be any thing availeable to the divine nature, as neither the prayers of men. But this unhurtfull and harmelesse kind of worship pleaseth

seth them. And by these sweet sa-
vours and lights, and other such
ceremonies men feele themselves
secretly lifted vp, and incouraged
to deuotion with more willing
and feruent hearts. The people
weareth in the Church white ap-
parell. The Priest is cloathed in
changeable colours, which in
workmanship be excellent, but in
stuffe not very precious. For their
vestments be neither imbrodered
with gold, nor set with precious
stones. But they be wrought so
finely and cunningly with di-
vers feathers of fowles, that the
estimation of no earthly stuffe is
able to countervaile the price of
the work. Furthermore, in these
birds feathers, and in the due or-
der of them, which is obser-
ved in their setting; they say,
is contained certaine diuine my-
steries. The interpretation where-
of knowne, which is diligently
taught by the Priests, they be
put in remembrance of the

bountifull benefits of God toward them, and of the loue and honour which of their behalfe is due to God: and also of their dutyes one toward another.

When the Priest first commeth out of the Vestry thus apparelled, they fall downe incontinent every one reverently to the ground, with so still silence, that the very fashiō of the thing striketh into them a certaine feare of God, as though he were there personally present. When they haue lien a little space on the ground, the Priest giveth them a signe to rise. Then they sing praises vnto God, which they intermixe with instruments of musicke, for the most part of other fashions then these that we vse in this part of the world. And like as some of ours be much sweeter then theirs, so some of theirs doe far passe ours. But in one thing doubtlesse they goe exceeding farre beyond vs.

Their Church vse &c.

For

For all their musicke both that they play vpon instruments, and that they sing with mans voice, doth so resemble and expresse naturall affections, the sound and tune is so applied and made agreeable to the thing, that whether it be a prayer, or else a duty of gladnesse, of patience, of trouble, of mourning, or of anger: the fashion of the melody doth so represent the meaning of the thing, that it doth wonderfully move, stirre, pierce, and enflame the hearers minds. At the last, the people and the Priest together, rehearse solemne prayers in words, expressely pronounced, so made, that every man may privately apply to himselfe that which is commonly spoken of all.

In these prayers every man recognisseth, and knowledgeth God to be his maker, his governor, and the principall cause of all other goodnesse, thanking him for so many

many benefits received at his hand. But namely that through the favour of God he hath chanced into that publike weale, which is most happy and wealthy, and hath chosen that religion which he hopeth to be most true. In the which thing if he doe any thing erre, or if there be any other better then either of them is, being more acceptable to God, he desireth him that he will of his goodnes let him have knowledge thereof, as one that is ready to follow what way soever he will lead him. But if this forme and fashion of a Common-wealth be best, and his owne religion most true and pefect, then he desireth GOD to give him a constant stedfastnesse in the same, and to bring all other people to the same order of living, and to the same opinion of God, unlesse there be any thing that in this diversity of Religions doth delight his unsearchable

able pleasure. To be short, he prayeth him that after his death he may come to him. But how soone or late that he dare not assigne nor determine. Howbeit, if it might stand with his Majesties pleasure, he would be much gladder to die a painfull death and so to goe to GOD, then by long living in worldly prosperity to be away from him. When this prayer is said, they fall down to the ground againe and a little after they rise vp and goe to dinner. And the residue of the day they passe over in playes, and exercise of chiualry.

Now I haue declared and prescribed vnto you as truely as I could, the forme and order of that Common-wealth, which verily in my judgement is not onely the best, but also that which alone of good right may claime and take vpon it the name of a Common-welth or publike weal. For in other places they speake

speake still of the Common wealth. But every man procureth his owne private gaine. Here where nothing is private, the common affaires be earnestly looked vpon. And truly on both parts they have good cause so to doe as they doe. For in other Countries who knoweth not that he shall starve for hunger, unlesse he make some severall provision for himselfe, though the Common wealth flourish never so much in riches? And therefore he is compelled even of very necessity to haue regard to himselfe, rather then to the people, that is to say, to others.

Contrariwise, there where all things be common to every man, it is not to be doubted that any man shall lacke any thing necessary for his private vses, so that the common store houses and barnes be sufficiently stored. For there nothing is destributed after

after a niggish sort, neither there is any poore man or begger. And though no man have any thing, yet every man is rich. For what can be more rich, then to live joyfull and merrily, without all griefe and pensivenesse: Not caring for his owne living, not vexed or troubled with his wifes importunate complaints, nor dreading poverty to his sonne, nor sorrowfull for his daughters dowry. Yea they take no care at all for the living and wealth of themselves and all theirs, and their wives, their children, their nephewes, their childrens children, and all the succession that ever shall follow in their posterity. And yet besides this, there is no lesse provision for them that were once labourers, and be now weake and impotent, then for them that doe now labour and take paine. Here now would I see,

if

If any man dare be so bold as to compare with the equity, the justice of other Nations. Among whom, I forsake GOD, if I can find any signe or token of equity and justice. For what justice is this, that a rich Gold-smith, or an Vsurer, or to be short, any of them, which either doe nothing at all, or else that which they do is such, that it is not very necessary to the Common-wealth, should have a pleasant and a wealthy living, either by idlenesse, or by unnecessary busynesse: When in the meane time poore labourers, Carters, yron smiths, Carpenters, and ploughmen, by so great and continuall toyle, as drawing and bearing beasts be scant able to sustaine, and again so necessary toyle, that without it no Common-wealth were able to continue and endure one yeare, should yet get so hard and poore a living, and live so wretched and miserable a life, that

that the state and condition of the labouring beast may seeme much better and wealthier? For they be not put to so continuall labour, nor their living is not much worse: yea, to them much pleasanter, taking no thought in the meane season for the time to come. But these silly poore wretches be presently tormented with barraine and unfruitfull labour. And the remembrance of their poore indigent and beggerly old age killeth them vp. For their daily wages is so little, that it will not suffice for the same day, much lesse it yeeldeth any over-plus, that may daily be laid vp for the reliefe of old age.

Is not this an unjust, and an unkind Publique weale, which giveth great fees and rewards to Gentlemen, as they call them, and to Goldsmiths, and to such other, which

which be either idle persons, or else onely flatterers, and devisers of vaine pleasures: And of the contrary part, maketh no gentle provision for poore Plowmen, Colliers, Labourers, Yron-smiths, and Carpenters, without whom no Common-wealth can continue? But after it hath abused the Labourers of their lusty and flowring age, at the last when they be oppressed with old age and sicknesse being needy, poore, and indigent of all things, then so getting their so many painfull watchings, not remembring their so many and so great benefits, recompenceth and acquainteth them most unkindly, with miserable death. And yet besides this, the rich men not onely by private fraud, but also by common lawes, doe every day plucke and snatch away from the poore, some part of their daily

daily living. So whereas it seemed before unjuſt to repentance with unkindneſſe their paines, that they have beene beneficiall to the Common-weale, now they have to their wrong and unjuſt dealing (which is yet a much worſe point) given the name of juſtice, yea, and that by force of a Law. Therefore when I conſider and weigh in my mind all theſe Common-wealths, which now a dayes any where do flouriſh, ſo GOD helpe me, I can perceive nothing but a certaine conſpiracy of rich men procuring their owne commodities, under the name and title of the Common-wealth. They invent and deviſe all meanes and crafts, firſt how to keepe ſafely without feare of looſing, that they have unjuſtly gathered together: and next how to hire and abuſe the worke and labour of the poore for as little money as may

may be. These deuises when the rich men haue decreed to be kept and obserued vnder colour of the communalty, that is to say, also of the poore people, then they be made lawes. But these most vicious and wicked men, when they haue by their vnsatiable couetousnesse, deuided among themselues all those things which would haue sufficed all men, yet how farre be they from the wealth and felicity of the *Vtopian* Common-wealth? Out of the which, in that all the desire of money with the vse thereof is vtterly secluded and banished, how great a heape of cares is cut away? How great an occasion of wickednesse and mischiefe is pulled vp by the roote? For who knoweth not that fraud, theft, ravine, brawling, quarrelling, brabling, strife, chiding, contention, murder, treason, poisoning, which by daily punishments are rather reuenged then refrai-

Contempt of money.

refrained, doe die when money dyeth? And also that feare, griefe, care, labours, and watching, doe perish even the very same moment that money perisheth? Yet poverty it selfe, which onely seemed to lacke money, if money were gone, it also would decrease and vanish away. And that you may perceiue this more plainly, consider with your selues some barraine and unfruitfull yeare, wherein many thousands of people haue starued for hunger: I dare be bold to say, that in the end of that penury, so much Corne or graine might haue beene found in rich mens barnes, if they had beene searched, as being diuided among them who famine and pestilence then consumed, no man at all should haue felt that plague and penury. So easily might men get their liuing if that same worthy Princesse Lady money did not alone stop

300

stoppe vp the way betweene vs and our living, which a Gods name was very excellently deuised and inuented, that by her the way thereto should be opened. I am sure the rich men perceiue this, nor they be not ignorant how much better it were to lacke no necessary thing, then to abound with ouermuch superfluity: to be rid out of innumerable cares and troubles, then to be besieged and encombred with great riches.

A marueilous saying.

And I doubt not that either the respect of every mans priuate commodity, or else the authority of our Saviour *Christ* (which for his great wisedome could not but know what were best, and for his inestimable goodnesse could not but counsell to that which he knew to the best) would have brought all the World long agoe into the

the lawes of this Weale publike if it were not the one onely best, the Princesse and mother of all mischiefe Pride, doth withstand and let it. She measureth not wealth and prosperity by her owne commodities, but by the misery and incommodities of other: she would not by her good will be made a Goddesse, if there were no wretches left, over whom she might like a scornfull Lady rule and triumph, over whose miseries her felicities might shine, whose poverty she might vexe, torment and increase, by rigorously setting forth her riches. This hel-hound creepeth into mens hearts, and pulleth them backe from entring the right path of life, and is so deeply rooted in mens breasts, that she cannot be pulled out.

This forme and fashion of a Weale publike, which I would gladly wish unto all Nations,

302

I am glad yet that it chanced to the *Vtopians*, which have followed those institutions of life, whereby they have laid such foundations of their Common-wealth, as shall continue and last not onely wealthy, but also as farre as mans wit may judge and conjecture, shall endure for ever. For seeing the chiefe causes of Ambition and sedition, with other vices, be plucked vp by the roots, and abandoned at home there, can be no jeopardy of domesticall dissention, which alone hath cast underfoot and brought to naught the wel-fortified and strongly defenced wealth and riches of many Cities. But for as much as perfect concord remaineth, and wholsome lawes be executed at home, the envie of all forreigne Princes be not able to shake or moove the Empire, though they have many times long agoe gone about to doe

doe it, being evermore driven backe.

Thus when RAPHAEL had made an end of his tale, though many things came to my mind, which in the manners and lawes of that people, seemed to be instituted and founded of no good reason, but onely in the fashion of their chiualry, and in their Sacrifices, and Religions, and in other of their Lawes; but also, yea and chiefly, in that which is the principall foundation of all their ordinances: that is to say, in the communalty of their life and living, without any occupying of money, by the which thing onely all nobility, magnificience, worship, honour, and majesty, the true ornaments and honours, as the common opinion is, of a Common-wealth, vtterly be overthrowne and destroyed: yet because I knew that he was weary of talking, and was not

ſure whether he could abide that any thing ſhould be ſaid againſt his mind: ſpecially remembring that he had reprehended this fault in other, which he affraid leaſt they ſhould ſeeme not to be wiſe enough, unleſſe they could find ſome fault in other mens inventions: therefore I praiſing both their inſtitutions and his communication, tooke him by the hand, and led him into ſupper, ſaying that we would chooſe another time to weigh and examine the ſame matters, and to talke with him more at large therein. Which would GOD it might once come to paſſe.

In the meane time, as I cannot agree and conſent to all things that he ſaid, being elſe without doubt a man ſingularly well learned, and alſo in all wordly matter exactly and profoundly experienced: ſo muſt I needs confeſſe and graunt, that many things

things be in the *Vtopian* Weale-publique, which in our Cities I may rather wish for, then hope after.

FINIS.

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